

REMEMBERING ROYALTY IN ANCIENT EGYPT:
SHARED MEMORIES OF 'ROYAL ANCESTORS' BY
PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH
DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT

Sociological theories relating to collective forms of memory and forgetting have received little attention in Egyptological studies thus far with the work of Jan Assmann providing the primary source. Understanding these two processes, however, can support important insights into the lives and cultures of ancient communities; they should not, therefore, be viewed as peripheral theories but as central in developing understanding of societies below the elite.

Consequently, this study looks at collective forms of memory and forgetting in the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, focusing on commemoration of deceased kings and queens ('royal ancestors'). The first three chapters use case studies to highlight different memory stores; written, pictorial and active. The final chapter focuses on forgetting. The evidence is analysed using both Egyptological and sociological theory to facilitate discussion on the subjects of community, identity and legitimation, and to develop understanding of material culture as a site of memory.

The study argues that collective forms of remembering, particularly cultural memory, played a key role in the construction of individual and group identity and the legitimation of the ruler. Furthermore, it concludes that existing studies of memory provide good frameworks to understanding Egyptian society, although they should not be used without careful consideration of context.

For Rene

When life gives you spaghetti, make spaghetti-cheese soup

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ABBREVIATIONS

Based on those given in the Egyptologists Electronic Forum (EEF)

ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.</i>
COI Photo	Chicago Oriental Institute Photo, held by the Chicago Oriental Institute.
EEF Memoir	<i>Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir.</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt.</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i>
GIA Photo	Griffith Institute Archive Photo, held by the Griffith Archive, University of Oxford.
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i>
Gunn MSS	Manuscripts of B. Gunn, held by the Griffith Archive, University of Oxford.
Gunn Notebook	Notebooks of B. Gunn, held by the Griffith Archive, University of Oxford.
IBAES	<i>Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie.</i>
Kaskal	<i>Kaskal. Journal of History, Environment, and Cultures of the Ancient Near East.</i>
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck, W. and Otto, E. (eds) 1972-1992. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . Vols. 1-7.
LD iii	Lepsius, K. R. 1849-1858. <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien III (Theben)</i> .
Macadam, DALEX 1	File of M. Macadam, based largely on notebooks of N de G Davies. Held at the Sudan Library, Khartoum (https://sites.google.com/site/macadam/collections/macadam-s-dalex-file-1).
Macadam, DALEX 2	File of M. Macadam, based largely on notebooks of N de G Davies. Held at the Sudan Library, Khartoum (https://sites.google.com/site/macadam/collections/macadam-s-dalex-file).
Macadam, Green	File of M. Macadam, based largely on notebooks of N de G Davies. Held

File	at the Sudan Library, Khartoum (https://sites.google.com/site/macadamcollections/macadam-s-green-file).
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.</i>
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.</i>
MMA Photo T.	Metropolitan Museum of Art T. Series Photo, held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Some copies held by the Griffith Institute Archive, University of Oxford.
MMAEE	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Exhibition.</i>
MMAF	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i> (succeeded by MIFAO).
PM	Porter, B. Moss, R. Malek, J. et al. (eds). 1927-1951 (1960-). <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Relief and Paintings</i> . Vols. I-VII.
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.</i>
Schott Photo	Photographs of S. Schott. Held by the University of Trier (http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/schott.php?ac=m1).
SDAIK	<i>Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.</i>
SSEA	<i>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.</i>
Urk. IV	Sethe, K. and Helck, W. 1906-1958. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.</i>
Wörterbuch	Erman, A. 1926-1961. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In ancient times, as Frances Yates (1999: 1-2) narrates in her seminal book '*The Art of Memory*', a great banquet was given by Scopas for his friends and acquaintances.¹ During the banquet, however, the roof collapsed, killing all within. By a touch of fate, the poet Simonides, who had attended the banquet, was not in the room when this tragedy occurred; he was able, through his skill at remembering, to identify who every guest was and where he had sat, which allowed the victims to be recorded.² This anecdote introduces what Yates (1999: 2-3) refers to as the 'art of memory',³ which emphasises the connection between the visual and remembering. She writes that 'the Greeks, who invented many arts, invented an art of memory',⁴ and goes on (1999: xi) to define this art as seeking to 'memorialise through a technique of impressing "places" and "images" on memory'. She charts the history of memory, beginning with the story of Scopas, and continuing to early modern times; this shows the value that has been placed on remembering throughout history. In her work, memory is an active phenomenon; in order to remember one must create and retain mental images, which then inform later memory.⁵ Learning specific skills and tricks can improve one's ability to remember important ideas and facts. These things are not remembered automatically but must be retained through conscious effort; this is a reminder that memory is a complex and active phenomenon, and should be treated as such.

¹ This book was first published in 1966.

² Small (1997: 84-85) calls this 'state-dependent learning', wherein one remembers facts by using a specific order; in the case of Simonides, this was the order in which guests had been seated.

³ The 'art of memory' that she discusses is primarily that used by orators as a technique to remember speeches. See also Blum (1969), who details the practice of mnemotechnology through which material is adapted and remembered in an artificial form so that it can be recalled at will.

⁴ It is well to note, at this point, that the Egyptian civilisation, upon which the current study focuses, predates that of the ancient Greeks. It, therefore, refutes her suggestion that the art of memory was founded by the Greeks, suggesting that it goes back much further in history.

Yates focuses on memory as an individual act.⁶ She looks at the ways in which information can be remembered by a single person and the techniques that aid this. She discusses the usefulness of this memory within society, but the remembering itself is a solo act.⁷

1.1. THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY

The aim of the present study is to discuss the importance of memory; however, it aims to look not at individual, but at social forms of remembering. How were these memories, which, as Yates points out, were important in society, retained?⁸ This study will focus on the non-elite to contrast with existing studies of Egyptian culture, which primarily analyse evidence of royal and elite individuals.⁹ Furthermore, by analysing the processes and structures of memory at a lower level, connections between the non-elite and elite levels of society may be drawn; this will lead to a better understanding of the role of memory in legitimising the king.¹⁰

Through four specific studies, each looking at a different form of remembering (or forgetting)¹¹ and focusing on evidence from the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1550-1295 BC),¹² it will be possible to build a clearer picture of the ways in which memory was retained and

⁵ See, for example, Yates (1999: 6-8) for discussion of the forming of ‘loci’ on which to build mental images that aid memory.

⁶ See also Cubitt (2007: 74-76) for discussion of three approaches to individual memory.

⁷ She does note some more social aspects, including the possibility of oral remembering in ancient Egypt (Yates 1999: 38) which is a form of social remembering, although she then dismisses this in the context of Egyptian society.

⁸ Erll (2011: 13-37) provides a comprehensive introduction to studies of memory and culture, looking at the key theories.

⁹ See below, ch. 1.2.2.1 for further discussion of the challenges of looking at ‘non-elite’ evidence.

¹⁰ See below, ch. 1.8.1, for more on the role of the king and the legitimisation of the state.

¹¹ These are: memory and writing, memory and image, memory and action, and forgetting. See ch. 1.3 for details on each of these foci.

¹² The decision to focus on the Eighteenth Dynasty is discussed in more details below, see ch. 1.2. The dating is based on that given in Shaw (2000). Studies such as that of Hornung et al. (2006) provide slightly different dates,

developed in a certain period of Egyptian society. The evidence included in this study is intended to provide a basis for discussion of the sociological and cultural concepts set out in this introduction; all available evidence that falls within the parameters of the study has been included but, as discussed below, some pieces of evidence have been identified as inaccessible, while others are ambiguous and have, therefore, been left out of the corpus of evidence.¹³ These exclusions, however, are negligible and would not alter the conclusions drawn.

Additionally, the conclusions can be applied, at least in part, to other periods and even to other cultures; while based on specific case studies, they form a basis from which further discussion can be drawn. Equally, the sociological theories are relevant throughout history; they have here been adapted to the study of ancient Egypt but can be valuable in any culture or time. Societies are not unique, and their similarities allow for theories of social interaction to be used cross-culturally. This study, therefore, takes the existing corpus of memory studies, builds on it, and provides a new starting point for future studies. By taking a largely unexplored culture (in the context of memory studies) and looking not only at memory but also at forgetting, the current study will be an important addition to scholarship both of memory and of Egyptology.

although the variation is only slight; this study also discusses in detail the difficulties of giving exact dates for each reign.

¹³ See below, ch. 1.3, for details on the scope of the study. Details of excluded evidence are also given in each chapter and the related appendices (for example, chs. 2.2, 3.2.3, 4.2, apps. 10, 15).

1.2. THE PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

Certain parameters have been set for this study. Firstly the evidence will be drawn from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and will be taken from memorial contexts. Evidence will be limited to three sites: Thebes, Memphis and Amarna. It will be private evidence¹⁴ and will relate to kings of the past so as to facilitate discussion of the role of these royal ancestors in social memory. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘royal ancestor’ will be used to refer to kings, queens (and, in the case of Ahmose-Sipair, a prince) of the past; this is not intended to imply that the ‘royal ancestor’ is an ancestor of the private individual who created the evidence, but simply that they are an ancestor (either literal or symbolic) of the living pharaoh.¹⁵ Each of these parameters will now be discussed, to ascertain the background to the study and the reasons for these specific limitations.

1.2.1. DEFINING THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

As noted above, the evidence in this study will be taken from the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1550-1295 BC) which began with the reign of Ahmose and ended with that of Horemheb.¹⁶ This period has been chosen as it stands between the disunified period of the Second

¹⁴ Meaning that it is not created by agents of the state as part of their official business.

¹⁵ This should not be confused with texts found in later periods of Egyptian history where private individuals trace their genealogy back to royal beginnings, thus recording their own royal ancestors.

¹⁶ The rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty are as follows: Ahmose (c. 1550-1525BC); Amenhotep I (c. 1525-1504BC); Thutmose I (c. 1504-1492BC); Thutmose II (c. 1492-1479BC); Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425BC) and Hatshepsut (c. 1473-1458BC); Amenhotep II (c. 1427-1400BC); Thutmose IV (c. 1400-1390BC); Amenhotep III (c. 1390-1352BC); Amenhotep IV, later called Akhenaten (c. 1352-1336BC); Smenkhara (c. 1338-1336BC); Tutankhamun (c. 1336-1327BC); Aye (c. 1327-1323BC); Horemheb (c. 1323-1295BC).

Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC) and the Ramesside Period (c. 1295-1069BC),¹⁷ in which royal cults and the commemoration of royal ancestors are well recorded.¹⁸

The complexities of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties make drawing firm lines between them difficult.¹⁹ Tutankhamun is the final king who was a direct ancestor of the Eighteenth Dynasty and so a full stop could, arguably, be drawn at this point.²⁰ However, while Aye holds no direct dynastic connection either with those who precede or succeed him, his position as Vizier of Tutankhamun gives him a tenuous place as a continuation of that line. Horemheb, again, is not linked by blood either to Aye or to Ramesses I and so can be linked to either dynasty.²¹ As the commander of the armies under Tutankhamun and Aye, he can be connected with his predecessors, which would place him as the final pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Yet he seized control after the death of Aye and named Ramesses I as his successor (Booth 2009: 124)²² and so may be seen as the first in the Ramesside line.²³ It lies, therefore, in the hands of the researcher to decide how to define these ‘dynasties’ or, indeed, if such ideas are of any use at all.

¹⁷ Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

¹⁸ See, for example, Heffernan (2010), which focuses on the reign of Ramesses II, as well as el-Shazly (2008), Moore (1994) and Hollender (2009), for which a large proportion of evidence dates to the Ramesside Period.

¹⁹ A similar issue may be found for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, where familial relations between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties blur the lines; Ryholt (1997: 289) notes the direct link between the last kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the first of the Eighteenth. Here, however, the reunification of Egypt under Ahmose allows for a link to be drawn between the two dynasties for the purposes of this study (see, for example, Shaw (2000: 218), who suggests that the reunification of the country occurred during Ahmose’s reign). Interestingly, Ryholt (1997: 33) suggests that details in the Turin Kinglist imply recognition of at least some dynastic divisions by the Ramesside Period; he writes that the kinglist ‘suggests that the ancient Egyptian “chronologers” were aware of certain changes in their cultural history’. Dynastic divisions are not, therefore, entirely constructions of the post-Pharaonic period.

²⁰ The theory has been posited that Aye was a relative of Teye, Amenhotep III’s wife (Shaw 2000: 261, 292). If this were the case then he would have had some connection to the royal family. But as Teye, herself, was not royal-born, this would not give Aye a direct blood connection with the royal line.

²¹ Bommas (2012a: 99) calls Horemheb ‘Der erste Ramesside’, again demonstrating the porous division between the two periods.

²² Booth (2009: 124) notes, for example, that Ramesses I ‘continued to rule along the same path as Horemheb ... building upon Horemheb’s foundations’, which shows the continuity between the two reigns.

As already noted, the aim of this research is to further understanding of memory in the pre-Ramesside period which, by definition, began with the accession of the first Ramesses. Additionally, the ‘period of stability’ acquired under Ramesses II arguably began at the accession of Ramesses II’s grandfather, Ramesses I, whose bloodline secured a stable succession. It is at this point that the ‘Ramesside’ ideology of kingship can be seen to have come into being. The disconnection between Horemheb and Ramesses I may not be absolute, but the connection between Ramesses I and his successors is undeniable. For this reason, the traditional lines between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties will be adhered to, and this study will look at evidence up to and including the reign of Horemheb.

1.2.2. THE EVIDENCE

1.2.2.1. PRIVATE EVIDENCE

One of the key aims of this study is to understand more fully how memory served a purpose on a level below that of the elite.²⁴ To further understand Egyptian society, one must look below the monumental evidence of the state and pull out the threads that give access to ‘ordinary’ Egyptians.

Of course, the definition of ‘ordinary’ must be qualified in this context. The evidence does not allow access to all levels of society,²⁵ and so the term ‘ordinary’ refers to those who would

²³ The first kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty were Ramesses I (c. 1295-1294BC), Seti I (c. 1294-1279BC) and Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213BC) (Shaw 2000).

²⁴ Royal evidence has been discussed more fully, for example, by D. Redford (1986) who touched on private evidence of kinglists but whose focus was on royal memorial traditions. Previous studies will be looked at below, see ch. 1.8.3.

²⁵ Only those who were able to afford funerary monuments, were literate or who held official positions in society are included in this study as the creators of evidence, as it is their evidence that can be identified and examined.

have been buried outside of the royal necropoleis, and who lived outside of state palaces. The separation between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture must be noted here, with ‘high’²⁶ referring to the elite section of society and ‘low’²⁷ referencing ordinary or popular culture. Baines (1987) has suggested that high and low culture acted as two sides of the same coin; this emphasises the difference between them but also their close connection and interdependence, although Richards (2005: 15) rejects Baines’ dichotomy, opting for a scale of differentiation between social groups. Gans (1999: vii), however, warns against blurring the lines between low (or ‘popular’) and high culture too far, writing that the distinction is based upon socio-economic factors and should not be ignored. This study will discuss some of the ways in which these two cultures interacted, demonstrating that they were not separate entities but were variants of the same belief system.

1.2.2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITATIONS

It has not been possible to look at every Eighteenth Dynasty site and so this study has been limited to a small number. The intention has been to provide for discussion of a wide range of evidence at comparable sites. Three sites in the Eighteenth Dynasty acted as royal capitals: Thebes for a large part of the period, until the reign of Akhenaten (c. 1550-1347BC); Amarna under Akhenaten (c. 1347-1336BC); and Memphis²⁸ in the post-Amarna period (c. 1336-1295BC).²⁹ For this reason, these three sites are used as the evidential basis. As the three key royal sites in the Eighteenth Dynasty they provide the best opportunity to look at the interaction of state and community, and for an analysis of the links between the current king

²⁶ This must not be confused with ‘Hochkultur’, as defined by Assmann, which refers to the culture of literate societies (see, for example, Assmann (1984)).

²⁷ Particular emphasis was put on low culture, for example, by the Frankfurt school (see Storey (2006: 49-56)).

²⁸ This includes the various necropoleis in the region of the ancient city.

²⁹ See ch. 6.3.2. for discussion of the limitations of not including other sites, such as Abydos.

and those of the past.³⁰ Amarna gives very little evidence that is relevant to this study, due to its lack of use prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty; it has, regardless, been included due to its royal status in the period, and because its lack evidence of provides an interesting comparison with the other two sites.

1.2.2.3. THE MEMORIAL CONTEXT

The potential material for studies of memory in ancient Egypt is vast and so it has been necessary to limit the corpus to specific forms of evidence. The intention is that the catalogues will provide a basis for discussion, and with this in mind the evidence has been limited to that found within memorial contexts. The reasons for this are as follows: firstly, it provides the most complete and well preserved sites, and allows the fullest examination of sources; secondly the intention of memorial monuments, be they private or state, was to last for eternity thus preserving the memory of the tomb owner *ad infinitum*. As such these monuments can be seen as intentional *lieux de mémoire*³¹ and so they provide a suitable basis for discussions of memory.

Additionally, a distinction has been made between ‘mobile’ and ‘immobile’ evidence, with this study focusing on the ‘immobile’. This is evidence that, in its original form, was intended to be static; this includes the decoration on tomb and monument walls, including graffiti, and funerary cones which were originally fastened as part of the outer decoration of private tombs.³² Such things were intended to be a part of the lasting memorial landscape and,

³⁰ Silverman (1994) chose the same three sites in his examination of royal palaces, again showing the key role that they played in Eighteenth Dynasty state and society.

³¹ ‘Sites of memory’, which Nora (1989: 19) describes as an interaction between memory and history; they are sites of memory that are ‘material, symbolic and functional’ (Nora 1989: 18-19).

³² See ch. 4.2.1.1 for detail on the function of funerary cones.

therefore, better fulfil the second function of memorial monuments as mentioned in the previous paragraph. A second benefit of using immobile evidence is that it is more easily provenanced and dated.³³

1.3. THE CATALOGUES

Furthermore, it has been necessary to specify certain types of evidence from which to create the catalogues that accompany this study; these are writing, depiction, action and forgetting. As has already been noted the intention of these catalogues is to provide a basis upon which a theoretical study may be built, and some evidence which does not fully fit the given parameters, or which is ambiguous, has been excluded.³⁴

³³ An exception to this is funerary cones which, as noted, are often now mobile despite the intentions of the tomb owner. The criteria for including funerary cones in this study are discussed in more detail in ch. 4. 2.

³⁴ Through careful study of all available excavation reports and thematic publications, it is believed that all relevant evidence has been identified, and any exclusions from this study are intentional. In particular, evidence which falls outside of the date range (Eighteenth Dynasty) or cannot be dated to this period with near certainty has been excluded. Furthermore, some graffiti have been excluded from use in ch. 2 (writing) as it is not yet accessible for research (for example the graffiti on the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III, which is currently being prepared for publication by Hana Navrátilová, but for which the full texts are not accessible at this point). See also below, chs. 2.2, 3.2.3, 4.2, apps. 10, 15.

1.3.1. MEMORY AND WRITING

Jan Assmann³⁵ cites writing as a key element of cultural memory³⁶ and so this provides a good place to start discussion of collective forms of memory. In order to focus on ordinary Egyptians this study looks not at official inscriptions but at graffiti, which provide the best opportunity to access non-elite ideas due to their informal nature.³⁷ The catalogues to accompany the chapter on writing, therefore, focus on graffiti (apps 1-5). They can be found in both private and state contexts and so allow for a comparison of the two. As discussed in the second chapter of this study, writing was not universally accessible which means that there are limitations to the scope of this section, but the importance of writing as a symbol as well as its literal meaning is also investigated.

1.3.2. MEMORY AND IMAGE

Simon Price (1984: 206) emphasises the power of the image of the ruler to promulgate his memory when he is not present. While writing describes, images actually show, thus lending another level to the study. Here, private tomb depictions provide the best evidence on which to hang the discussion, being built outside of the royal sphere but being created to last and be accessible to future visitors. Their memory, therefore, is not only relevant to the owner of the tomb and their family, but to future visitors to the site.

³⁵ Jan Assmann will be referred to in this study as 'Assmann'. To differentiate, Aleida Assmann will be referred to either as 'Aleida Assmann' or as 'A. Assmann'.

³⁶ See, for example, Assmann (2006: 24-25). As will be discussed below, see ch. 1.5, cultural memory is a key form of collective remembering.

³⁷ See ch. 2.1.3 for discussion of the nature of graffiti.

Consequently the catalogues which form the basis of the next section of this work, contain the surviving depictions of royal ancestors in Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs (apps. 6-10).

Votive stelae have not been included in the catalogue, even if their intended location was a tomb, as they are mobile.³⁸

1.3.3. MEMORY AND ACTION

The importance of ‘doing’ plays an important role in memory,³⁹ and so it adds a final, key, element to the study of remembering. This has been understood to incorporate all cultic activity relating to deceased kings, and so evidence has targeted titles which relate to royal memorial cults. The third group of evidence, therefore, contains personal titles and is the most difficult to create due to the varied nature of the sources (apps. 11-15). The intention has been to use funerary cones and tomb inscriptions to create a corpus of private titles, although some have also been included that originally occur in the graffiti catalogue. The difficulties of using personal titles, in particular those found on funerary cones, are many,⁴⁰ and so only those whose date has been convincingly ascertained have been included. With regard to the evidence from the tombs themselves, this study has attempted to include all examples of private titles through study of publications and archives.⁴¹

By better understanding the meaning of these titles and the reasons for their having been recorded, it is possible to evaluate the role of ritual in promulgating the memory of deceased kings and further enhancing the position of the state. Royal cults have been looked at by

³⁸ Additionally the provenance of votive stela is often uncertain and it has been considered better to focus on tomb depictions themselves which, by their nature, contain a more certain provenance. Issues relating to the parameters of pictorial evidence are discussed in ch. 3.2.1.

³⁹ See, for example, Gillam (2005: 2).

⁴⁰ These are discussed in detail in chs. 4.2 and 4.2.1.1.

Egyptologists,⁴² but the emphasis has been on the worship of deceased kings rather than the development of memory and its place in society. The study of royal memorial cults by Haring (1997) provides a good basis for this discussion, but his work did not look in any detail at memory and so leaves the door open for the current study to build upon his foundation.

1.3.4. FORGETTING

Forgetting provides an important counter to memory, and the close connection between the two should be included in studies of remembering.⁴³ Yet, as Haas and Levausser (2013: 61-62) write, ‘there are, to our knowledge, no books dealing exclusively with forgetfulness, especially in its collective and cultural senses’.⁴⁴ The lack of studies on forgetting is, therefore, an omission that must be corrected. The current study allows for an examination of forgetting to be put alongside memory; this gives an opportunity to draw conclusions about the interaction of the two and the importance of forgetting in future studies of memory.

A final catalogue has, therefore, been created which details instances of forgetting (app. 16). Unlike the catalogues relating to remembering, this sets out specific examples to inform discussion, but does not list all instances.⁴⁵ This is because an attempt to list all instances of

⁴¹ For example, the Griffith Institute archive and Heidelberg archive.

⁴² See Černý (1927), Moore (1994), el-Shazly (2008), Hollender (2009).

⁴³ As noted by Aleida Assmann (2010: 97-99), among others, forgetting is a key part of memory and one should not be considered without the other.

⁴⁴ Although this reference is from 2010, the dearth of studies of forgetting has yet to be corrected. The conference hosted by the University of Kent in 2008, on ‘Cultural memory: forgetting to remember, remembering to forget’ is perhaps the clearest and most prominent attempt to emphasise and critique the link between remembering and forgetting, but no related publication has been forthcoming and so one is forced to search for oblique references to forgetting within memory studies.

⁴⁵ Although it only lists a selection of evidence, each piece provides an example of a type of forgetting. It, therefore, provides a clear basis on which discussion may be built.

forgetting would include such a large amount of evidence as to make it unmanageable, and to prevent useful analysis.⁴⁶

This study, therefore, looks at collective forms of memory in Egyptian society and its connection with the legitimization of the state. It uses four case studies to illustrate the relevant theories and ideas. Three relate to remembering; writing, image and action. The fourth area introduces the inverse, forgetting, to understand better how it interacts with remembering.

1.4. COLLECTIVE MEMORY

It is necessary at this point to look in some detail at the theories of collective memory that provide a basis for the analyses in this study. The following discussion will look at some of the key terms in memory theory, beginning with ‘collective memory’ and then looking at terms including ‘cultural’ and ‘communicative’ memory as well as other related concepts; it will look at the development of such ideas, and how they relate to each other, as well as addressing their importance of the context of this study.

1.4.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEORIES OF ‘COLLECTIVE MEMORY’

The sociologist Maurice Halbwachs was the first to set out a theory of ‘collective memory’. His key work, first published in 1925 in the French journal, ‘*Les travaux de l’annee sociologique*’ and later translated into English as ‘*On Collective Memory*’ (Halbwachs 1992),

⁴⁶ For example, a line of four cartouches from tomb TT78 is used to show the non-inclusion of other kings from the list (app. 16: F09T02). To include all examples in which one or more kings were not included in a depiction or a text would be to include every instance in which a royal individual was named, as at no point is every single ruler of Egypt named together.

laid the groundwork for later studies;⁴⁷ it was built upon in works such as the publication edited by Pierre Nora, which looked at ‘les lieux de mémoire’. This work drew together dozens of articles based around the theme of collective memory and French history.⁴⁸

Halbwachs was by no means the only scholar to suggest a form of collective memory. The art historian Aby Warburg had previously coined the term ‘social memory’,⁴⁹ thus bringing the concept of a socially developed form of remembering to the fore. In fact Assmann (1995: 125) writes that, despite their ‘fundamentally different approaches’, Halbwachs and Warburg together ‘shift the discourse concerning collective knowledge out of a biological framework into a cultural one’;⁵⁰ the work of these two men was, therefore, fundamental in encouraging discourse regarding the social and cultural context of memory.⁵¹ The role of memory in creating bonds between individuals is also important, as purported by Nietzsche, whom Assmann (2006: 5) refers to as ‘the theoretician of bonding memory’; the concept of bonding

⁴⁷ The work was originally published under the title ‘*Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*’. Cubitt (2007: 158) writes that Halbwachs’ notion of ‘collective memory’ is difficult to grasp as ‘his statements about ‘collective memory’ and its relationship to individual remembering are sometimes obscure and inconsistent’; this highlights the complex nature of the theories being discussed, and the sometimes ambiguous nature of the scholarship.

⁴⁸ Published between 1984-1992. This work has been translated into English in two different versions: *Rethinking France* consists of four volumes, divided into ‘the state’, ‘space’, ‘cultures and traditions’ and ‘histories and memories’; the second translation, titled *Realms of Memory*, looks at ‘conflicts and divisions’, ‘traditions’ and ‘symbols’.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Assmann (2010: 110). According to Assmann (1995: 125), Warburg first used the term ‘social memory’ in his Kreuzlinger Lecture in 1923. Esposito (2010: 183) differentiated between ‘social’ and ‘collective’ memory, arguing that while social memory is based in society, collective memory is based in the mind. Assmann used a similar distinction when discussing ‘communicative’ and ‘cultural’ memory; he notes (2008: 111) that, while cultural memory is preserved in institutions, communicative memory (which he sees as the second aspect of collective memory, akin to Halbwachs’ own ‘collective’ memory) ‘is not supported by any institutions of learning, transmission and interpretation ... it lives in everyday interaction and communication’. Halbwachs, further, suggested that collective memory was lost when the group that help it disbanded, due to its only existing in the social space between group members, and not in each individual mind (see A. Assmann (2011: 121)).

⁵⁰ Assmann (1995: 125) notes, interestingly, that according to unpublished notes, Warburg had previously been referred to in the work of Halbwachs; if true, this suggests that Warburg’s theories may have, at least in part, affected those of Halbwachs.

⁵¹ Others, such as the psychologist Carl Jung, continued to look for collective memory at an individual level; he saw it as something unconscious, appropriated and retained by each person unknowingly, the ‘collective unconscious’ (see Jung (1990: 3-4, 42-48)). Jung (1990: 3-4) writes that ‘the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behaviour that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals ... and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal

memory, again emphasises the important link between remembering, social interaction and group identity.

Halbwachs' work emphasised, most importantly, the social aspect of memory.⁵² He wrote that memory is socially constructed and individuals acquire memories through belonging to a social group.⁵³ Assmann (2006: 182) agrees with this, writing that 'the individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory'. Memory is constructed in a social context; without this, it would not survive intact in each individual mind.

Whilst not rejecting Halbwachs' thesis, the social anthropologist Paul Connerton (1989: 38) questions how these memories are passed on from one generation to the next, given the fact that different groups retain different memories; he suggests that this question is not satisfactorily answered by Halbwachs who, he argues, recognises the importance of these interactions but does not delve deeply enough into their processes.⁵⁴ Connerton (1989: 39) looks in more detail at these relationships, citing Bloch's work on rural societies where children were raised primarily by grandparents who took charge of their education and passed

nature that is present in every one of us'. See also Assmann (2010: 109), who notes that Jung, among others, examined it 'not in the dynamics of social life but in the unconscious depths of the human psyche'.

⁵² See, for example, Halbwachs (1992: 52-53). Assmann (2006: 1-4) discusses Halbwachs' understanding of memory, although he questions Halbwachs' assertion that an individual who grew up in total isolation would have no memories at all (see also Assmann (2008: 2-3)).

⁵³ As Connerton (1989: 1) notes, the term 'group' can refer to a variety of communities; these range from 'small, face-to-face societies' to 'territorially extensive societies whose members cannot know each other personally'.

⁵⁴ Halbwachs does look at the importance of inter-generational communication; he discusses (1992: 54-83) the key role familial relationships play in developing a collective memory, writing that grandparents, for example, 'communicate to their grandchildren their own memories and invoke the echo of almost vanished traditions' (Halbwachs 1992: 77). He does, however, suggest that this passing on of memory and tradition can only be partially completed; he writes that the older generations 'cannot revive for the new family a totality of ideas and a depiction of events, since this totality as such would no longer have a place within the framework in which the thoughts of their new descendants now operate' (Halbwachs 1992: 78). This emphasises the effect that current ideas and social environments have on remembering.

on the memory of the family (Bloch 1954: 40-41).⁵⁵ Again, it is the active, social processes of memory that are emphasised; memory is not static, but relies on the dynamic interchanges between people. As Connerton (1989: 39) writes, ‘to study the social formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible’.

1.4.2. THE ROLE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY

Collective memory, however, does not simply exist; it fulfils a role within a group. This is emphasised by the psychologist William Hirst, who writes that collective memory must ‘serve a function for the community’ (Manier and Hirst 2010: 253). One such function is supporting the formation of communities and community identity (Halbwachs 1992: 25).⁵⁶ Halbwachs (1992: 24) suggests that by contrasting its present to its own constructed past, a generation can become conscious of itself; these collective memories express the nature of the group (Halbwachs 1992: 59). Additionally, Gasnier (2006: 261) suggests that history and memory play a key role in the formation of local patrimonies; here, memory not only aids the construction of communal identity, it also plays a part in supporting social structures.⁵⁷

Connerton agrees that memory is important in the development of community, writing that ‘participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory’ (Connerton 1989: 3).

⁵⁵ Connerton agrees, calling the grandmother the ‘mistress of the household’ (Connerton 1989: 39).

⁵⁶ He notes, further, that memory is determined by identities, both collective and individual, that are well established (see Megill (2011: 194)). Here, the nature of social or individual identity is key to the formation of memory; a society without a clearly developed identity cannot support the development of memory in the same way that a society with an established identity is able to.

⁵⁷ See also Erll (2011: 19-20), who notes that Aby Warburg drew a similar link, that ‘culture rests upon the memory of symbols’, which formed a basis for his theory of ‘social memory’ (discussed below, ch. 1.4.1). Assmann (2006: 170) also writes that ‘Warburg was interested in the ways in which culture was informed by memory’. Links can be made with Nietzsche’s bonding memory which, as Assmann (2006: 5) notes, plays a role in the formation of social bonds.

Equally, Assmann (2010: 114) writes, simply, that ‘one has to remember in order to belong’, thus suggesting that memory is not only important in the development of the group, but that inclusion in that shared memory is a prerequisite for membership.⁵⁸ Pierre Nora’s edited volumes on memory in France, built on this idea. Nora’s contributors looked at the various ways in which memory, as related to people,⁵⁹ places,⁶⁰ monuments,⁶¹ writing⁶² and other media, had supported the formation of French national identity. Nora’s approach provides a close parallel to that taken in the present study; by looking at specific examples he builds up a wider picture of the role memory played in the development of group identity.

⁵⁸ Assmann (2010: 114) writes, further, that when a group transitions into another, it is vital that the memories connected with the first group are discarded along with the first group identity.

⁵⁹ E.g. Morrissey (2001), Boureau (2001). A similar focus is taken by Shils (1981: 326), who discusses the importance of ancestors within communities, as representatives of ‘a collectivity which transcends themselves and which transcends their contemporaries’. Again, the role of the past in creating a sense of collective identity can be seen; without communal ancestors as representative of the past, the collective nature of the community may be lost.

⁶⁰ For example, Guenée (2001), Erlande-Brandenburg (2009).

⁶¹ For example, Himelfarb (2001).

⁶² For example, Pomian (2010).

1.4.3. COLLECTIVE MEMORY AS A RESPONSE TO THE PRESENT

A third important feature of memory, posited by Halbwachs (1992: 25), is that it is based on the demands of the present.⁶³ If this view is taken, then memory is almost entirely subjective, developing in response to present social demands. Accordingly the same events can be remembered by different societies in entirely different ways, based on the needs of each.⁶⁴ This is a contentious issue; Halbwachs himself notes Barry Schwartz's objection to this idea, noting his claim that there has to be continuity of the past to prevent it becoming merely a 'series of snapshots taken at various times and from various perspectives' (Halbwachs 1992: 26). The historian Marc Bloch, however, writes that collective memory preserves the past inaccurately; it 'is found or reconstructed continuously, starting from the present' (Bloch 1925: 77).⁶⁵ This makes the present the starting point for the development of memory and emphasises the importance of current concerns in its creation. The philosopher Paul Ricœur (2004: 101) agrees, calling memory 'the present of the past', while Assmann (2006: 179) claims that 'memory history', in contrast with 'history', can be fictional in the eyes of historians.⁶⁶ Assmann (2006: 182) goes on to write that a society will adjust its memory in response to changes as time goes on, again emphasising the variable nature of memory even within a single group. Furthermore, the celebration of the centenary of James Joyce's '*Ulysses*' in Dublin shows that memories do not even need to be based in actual events (see

⁶³ Halbwachs (1992: 50-51) further suggests that, in the present, one is constricted by reality, whereas memories of the past are not; they can develop more freely.

⁶⁴ Agulhon (2001: 58) notes that even concrete history can be experienced entirely differently by different groups. In his discussion of the French state and periphery, he suggests that variance in memory is one explanation for the development of regionalism.

⁶⁵ He writes, 'la mémoire collective, comme la mémoire individuelle, ne conserve pas précisément le passé; elle le retrouve ou le reconstruit sans cesse, en partant du présent' (see also Boutry (2009: 53)).

⁶⁶ He writes, further, that groups have a tendency to distort the past when they reconstruct it (Assmann 2006: 182), although he fails to explain how and why this might happen. He does note (2006: 179), however, that these memories are still facts to the extent that they 'have defined the memory horizon of a culture'.

Rigny (2010: 351)).⁶⁷ This emphasises the fact that members of the community do not necessarily have to believe in the historical accuracy of their collective memory for it to be powerful; the events of ‘*Ulysses*’ were fictional, but this did not lessen the importance of the commemoration.

The opportunity for societies, or their leaders, to alter collective memory to suit a specific agenda must also be recognised. Ricœur (2004: 83) pays particular attention the manipulation of memory, emphasising the role of ideology which, he suggests, aims to ‘legitimize ... the authority of order or power’;⁶⁸ this emphasises the interplay of memory and authority. Zerubavel’s claim that the ‘power of collective memory’ lies ‘in establishing basic images that articulate and reinforce a particular ideological stance’ (Zerubavel 1995: 8) underscores the potential for memory to be used as a political and social tool by representing the views of those who control it, regardless of historical accuracy.⁶⁹ Assmann (2006: 91) writes, in support of this, that ‘memory is a system that is imposed from outside and can only be sustained by state power’. This takes the idea of memory as a controlling factor a step further, suggesting that it is imposed from outside society rather than being developed within it.⁷⁰ Von

⁶⁷ Dublin put on large-scale celebrations in 2004 to commemorate the centenary of the events of the novel despite the fact that the events were entirely fictional. As such, the city constructed a collective memory based around a fictional narrative, a fact that was freely acknowledged.

⁶⁸ Lipinska (1967), for example, discusses this in relation to Thutmose III’s manipulation of the memory of Hatshepsut in the monuments of Deir el-Bahri.

⁶⁹ Zerubavel (1995: 179-182) discusses the example of Yehoshafat Harkabi’s critique of the commemoration of the Bar Kokhba revolt to further examine the power of memory in shaping current political attitudes; Harkabi believed in the power of commemoration to affect current thinking, and argued the relevance of the commemorated events for current Jewish ideas. The high amount of debate over this issue demonstrates the power that past events can have over thinking in the present, even in political forums; it also demonstrates the power that conflicting memories of the same event may hold. Wyke’s study of the iconography of Mussolini further emphasises the potential for memory to be used in political propaganda; he notes Mussolini’s use of ancient Roman symbols and personalities to legitimise his own rule as the new Caesar (Wyke 1999). One example of this was the development of the play ‘Cesare’, which drew clear parallels between Mussolini and Caesar (Wyke 1999: 173-174).

⁷⁰ He writes that this viewpoint echoes those of Nietzsche (see, for example, Ansell-Pearson 2011: 168) and Warburg (see Assmann (2006: 91-95)). Assmann notes, however, that writing can act as a liberating factor; by learning to write, the Egyptians ‘acquired not just a cultural tool, but also cultural knowledge’ (Assmann 2006:

Lieven (2010: 3), however, writes that early Egyptian memorial cults were ‘a grassroots movement with no higher central authority’;⁷¹ this suggests that cults relating to deceased individuals which, as this study will show, were a part of cultural memory, were not always instigated by the state for political purposes but could be developed at a local level. This does not, however, prevent their being manipulated and used for political gain at a later point.

1.4.4. PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REMEMBERING

Discussion of memory and society has not only been confined to the field of sociology.

Psychological investigation has emphasised the link between autobiographical remembering and cultural theory. Psychologists Wang and Brockmeier (2002: 46) suggest that

autobiographical remembering plays a ‘central role not only in defining the mnemonic registers of the entire sociocultural system, but also in transmitting them from one generation to the next’. Here, the link between individual and social remembering is again emphasised.⁷²

Freeman (2002: 193) explores how cultural texts and ‘textures’ become woven into the fabric of memory, arguing that in autobiography, there is a need to ‘move beyond personal life...into the shared life of culture’ (Freeman 2002: 194). Arguments such as these support the idea that autobiography, far from being in opposition to collective memory, is actually a key aspect both of its creation and of its future understanding. Brockmeier (2002: 21) writes that ‘remembering cannot be properly understood without taking into account the social functions

91). While Warburg agrees with the idea of writing as a liberating factor, Nietzsche sees it as more prescriptive (see Assmann (2006: 95)).

⁷¹ Her focus is on the cults of deified humans.

⁷² They claim that ‘autobiographical memory and self are interconnected constructions of meaning, two dynamic aspects of the same overarching cultural system. Cultural genres of remembering one’s past and cultural conceptions of selfhood are both raw materials and end products of such interconnected constructions. In this way, they contribute—in turn—to a culture’s continuity and transformation’ (Wang and Brockmeier 2002: 50).

it fulfils and the cultural web in which it is integrated'.⁷³ Even autobiographical tomb descriptions in ancient Egypt, which can be seen as private records of an individual life, adhered to certain norms and passed cultural ideas on to those who visited the tombs and looked at them.⁷⁴

Furthermore, psychosocial theory has also emphasised the important link between memory and society. Haas and Jodelet (2007: 128) note the importance of social organisation, and communication within a group, for the development and formation of collective memory.⁷⁵ Studies in this field have emphasised the ways in which 'collective memory is socially constructed through social interaction, experience and communication' (Manier and Hirst 2010: 61).⁷⁶ Licata and Klein (2005: 244-245) look, furthermore, to the future, noting that the links between memory and identity affect not only a group's view of the past but also their decisions for the future; they suggest that strategies to justify actions or to boost a positive identity, are closely related with the memory of the group. Here, therefore, memory plays an important role both in forming the identity of the group and in shaping its future activity.

1.4.5. MEMORY AS AN ACTIVE PROCESS

⁷³ Fivush and Nelson (2004: 576) also write that 'autobiographical memory emerges with specific social and cultural milieus' and, further, that it serves 'mainly social and cultural functions'. Shotter (1990: 131) emphasises the importance of social context for both remembering and forgetting, suggesting that 'if events do not fit into the frameworks provided by one's social institutions ... then they are not remembered'.

⁷⁴ 'Decorum' is discussed in more detail in chs. 2.3.3 and 3.1.3).

⁷⁵ See also Haas and Levausser (2013: 61).

⁷⁶ Haas and Levausser (2013: 61) note the works, for example, of Billig (1997) who writes that 'past events are jointly reconstructed through discourse' (Billig 1997: 62), and of Middleton & Brown (2007) who look at 'remembering and forgetting as public, social activities where individual experience is necessarily mediated by collective experience' (Middleton and Brown 2007: 661). They also reference Tschuggnall and Welzer's analysis of the role of 'intergenerational discourse' in the formation of memory (Tschuggnall and Welzer 2002: 131).

The scholarship discussed emphasises that collective memory is a process, shaped by communal interactions. It does not appear and continue in the same state, but develops over time; collective memory in one moment cannot be isolated from the process that went before, and the development that will continue in the future. One must, therefore, look at the processes within society that interact with, and support the development of, collective memory. Fortunati and Lamberti (2010: 127) write that, in order to understand the processes of identity formations, one must examine ‘what disappears’, ‘what remains’ and ‘what re-emerges’; this emphasises the continual interactions of developing collective memory and identity.

Manier and Hirst (2010: 253) offer a word of caution, however, against treating all forms of shared memory in the same way. They note that they cannot all be seen as collective, in the same way that not all individually held memories can be defined as autobiographical. While it is tempting to include all socially held memories in the category of collective memory, perhaps it is the formative nature of these memories that allows the scholar to define them as such. As has been discussed, collective memories serve a purpose for society; they help to define the group and, in return, develop within that group. As Manier and Hirst (2010: 253) put it, ‘collective memories ... are representations of the past in the minds of members of the community that contribute to the community’s sense of identity’.

Despite the previously noted emphasis on the active nature of collective memory, Aleida Assmann (2010: 99), however, distinguished between active and passive remembering.⁷⁷ She

⁷⁷ Her work refers specifically to cultural memory (which is discussed below, see ch. 1.5), but the distinctions can be applied to all forms of collective remembering and forgetting. She writes that active remembering includes selecting and collecting, while passive memory requires accumulating. Aleida Assmann (2010: 100) identifies the three main areas of active cultural memory as being religion, art and history.

particularly looks at ‘functional’ memory,⁷⁸ which plays an active role in society including in legitimisation; this contrasts with ‘storage’ memory⁷⁹ which is inactive, acting as a ‘reservoir for future functional memories’ (A. Assmann 2011: 123-130). While, therefore, the active nature of much of remembering will be emphasised, more passive forms should not be ignored. This distinction is particularly important when looking at forgetting.

1.5. CULTURAL MEMORY

Building on existing theories of collective memory, Assmann developed the term ‘cultural memory’ (‘Das kulturelle Gedächtnis’).⁸⁰ He argues that while collective memory has a social basis, cultural memory has, as the name suggests, a cultural basis (Assmann 2006: 1), thus placing it in the realm of material culture. In contrast to Halbwachs, who set tradition in contrast to memory, Assmann (2006: 8) puts it at the centre of his thesis, writing that ‘what communication is for communicative memory, tradition is for cultural memory’.⁸¹ Cubitt (2007: 179-180) notes that tradition provides ‘established and inherited ways of doing things’ as opposed to offering a full knowledge of the past, thus creating connections between the past and the present through ‘continuities of practice’. The role of tradition may, then, be understood not as re-teaching the past verbatim, but in creating links with a shared past through involvement in practices that have been, and will continue to be, repeated by group members.⁸²

⁷⁸ This also relates to ‘canon’, which is discussed in more detail below (chs. 1.5.1 and 1.5.2).

⁷⁹ This may also be termed ‘archive’ (see, for example, A. Assmann (2010: 99, 102)).

⁸⁰ Although an article entitled ‘*African Cultural Memory in New Orleans Music*’, published by Jason Berry in 1988, suggests that the term may have been in limited use before the work of Assmann. In this instance, Berry looked at the development of culture in New Orleans and its relationship to existing African tradition, suggesting that ‘in music and dance, in costumes and religious life, the past articulates its presence’ (Berry 1988: 3).

1.5.1. PROCEDURES OF CULTURAL MEMORY

Assmann (2006: 18) sets out various procedures by which, he argues, cultural memory is formed and retained; they include learning by heart, writing down, education, festivals and speech. He argues that writing is a key catalyst for cultural memory, and it is with the dawn of literate culture that this form of remembering truly takes off (Assmann 2006: 21). This view is supported by Cubitt (2007: 188-191), who notes the importance of writing in the development of memory within groups.⁸³

Assmann does not, however, dismiss the importance of other forms of remembering, such as oral practices. He suggests (2006: 24-25), however, that in oral tradition, cultural memory equates only to what is needed in society, whereas in literate communities there is opportunity to record far higher amounts of information by storing it. This concept is further developed by Aleida Assmann in her discussion of canon and archive, wherein active, functional memory (canon) is contrasted with passive, stored memory (archive).⁸⁴ Assmann also questions the life-expectancy of oral forms of remembering, linking this more often with communicative memory and a lifespan of only a few generations.⁸⁵

Assmann (2006: 41) also recognises the role that ritual and festival play in many communities, especially those that are not fully literate. He argues (2006: 105) that ‘festival and ritual are the typical forms in which societies without writing institutionalise the

⁸¹ He does, however, question whether the term ‘tradition’, in its usual understanding, is adequate to reflect the complex and dynamic nature of stored and functional memory (Assmann 2006: 24-25).

⁸² The role of tradition is discussed in further detail in ch. 4.1.2.

⁸³ He sets out the effects of using written records: the first is that more complex information may be retained and transferred; secondly, literacy ‘establishes new possibilities of reference’; the third effect is the increased amount of storage that is available; and finally the information can be more widely accessed and disseminated.

expanded context of cultural texts'. Although he still places emphasis on 'cultural texts' as the basis of cultural memory, he recognises that these 'texts' can be distributed in different ways when needed;⁸⁶ the emphasis is on the distribution of memory rather than necessarily on the method by which it is done. In fact, Assmann (1995: 133) writes that the 'manner of its [cultural memory's] organization, its media, and its institutions are ... highly variable', emphasising that no one form of commemoration is predominant; different methods are found, based on the needs and nature of different groups. Festivals, for example, 'guarantee the communication and circulation of the myth within the group' (Assmann 2006: 163)⁸⁷ and are, therefore, a key form of commemoration particularly within groups that remember orally.

Connerton (1989: 54) discusses ritual language as an important mnemonic device; he suggests that ritual is itself a form of language which has been formalised and encoded in canon. It is through this canonisation that ritual language becomes repeatable; each ritual can be performed again and again, exactly the same so that the participants are 'habituated to the performance' (Connerton 1989: 70).⁸⁸ Canonisation may, therefore, be seen as the encoding of specific ideas or artefacts into cultural memory through the work of specialists acting through mediums such as ritual and texts.⁸⁹

An important difference between Assmann's 'cultural memory' and Halbwachs' 'collective memory' is the timeframe. Halbwachs' theory includes the recent past, discussing the ways in

⁸⁴ See, for example, A. Assmann (2010). Canon and archive are discussed in more detail below (this section and ch. 1.5.2).

⁸⁵ See below, ch. 1.6, for more discussion of the role of oral remembering and communicative memory.

⁸⁶ In societies, for example, with low levels of literacy.

⁸⁷ The use of the term 'myth' here, as opposed to 'memory', relates to Assmann's discussion of the work of Thomas Mann; Mann's novel (Mann 1978) tells the story of 'Joseph and his brothers', showing how such myths can become embedded in cultures. Mann suggests that the past survives as myth which discusses the story of the first man, 'a very ancient tradition ... whence it has become incorporated into the succession of religions' (see, for example, Mann (1978: 23)).

⁸⁸ He looks both at 'verbal repetition' and 'gestural repetition' (Connerton 1989: 68).

which memories are retained for a finite number of generations, passed on from person to person. Assmann's work, however, widens this timeframe considerably, encompassing the 'age-old, out of the way and discarded' (Assmann 2006: 27). In fact, Assmann (1995: 129) specifically defines cultural memory by its 'distance from the everyday', noting its potential timeframe of millennia. Furthermore, he argues (1995: 129) that cultural memory has a fixed temporal 'horizon' that does not change over time; these points are usually events of specific importance for the community. Nora (1996: 1, 7) takes this concept further, arguing that the 'lieux de mémoire' which help to form a basis of cultural memory only exist when the sites no longer form a 'real part of everyday existence';⁹⁰ they act as markers of traditions that are no longer an active part of the community. These sites, therefore, create artificial links with the past, which encourage the group to engage with Assmann's 'specific' memories.

1.5.2. THE SIX CHARACTERISTICS OF JAN ASSMANN'S 'CULTURAL MEMORY'

In his article, '*Cultural Memory and Cultural Identity*', Assmann (1995), sets out six key characteristics of cultural memory; it is worth looking at these here to help to finalise a definition of this form of remembering, as they draw together the threads already discussed and add further details to lesser explored aspects.

The first characteristic is 'the concretion of identity' (Assmann 1995: 130) which relates to the many scholars already cited who have drawn a link between memory and group identity.

⁸⁹ See below, ch. 1.5.2, for more detail on the role of specialists.

⁹⁰ He distinguishes between 'melieux de mémoire', settings which are a part of everyday existence, and 'lieux de mémoire', which are not. It should be noted that Assmann's inclusion of the 'out of the way and discarded' (Assmann 2006: 27) in his description of what may be included in cultural memory suggests that he does not rule out Nora's suggestion.

Assmann (1995: 130) notes that this identity can be based on both positive ('we are...') and negative ('we are not...') ideas. The key point is that cultural memory defines members of the group as different from those who are outside of it.

Secondly cultural memory has the 'capacity to reconstruct' (Assmann 1995: 130); it cannot preserve the past but it can reconstruct it within its own frame of reference. As already noted, it uses the present as its basis.

The third characteristic is 'formation' (Assmann 1995: 130). By this Assmann means the canonisation of communicated memory into collective knowledge 'in the culturally institutionalised heritage of a society'.⁹¹ Aleida Assmann (2010: 100) writes that 'whatever has made it into the active cultural memory has passed rigorous processes of selection, which secure for certain artefacts a lasting place in the cultural working memory of a society'.⁹² Through this process, events or ideas become fixed in the cultural memory of a group and may then serve a function in it. It is this 'canonisation'⁹³ that defines cultural memory, and distinguishes it from other forms.⁹⁴

Assmann (1995: 131) next emphasises institutional involvement and specialisation of roles, which he refers to as 'organization'. He emphasises the importance of specialists in cultural memory; these are men and women whose role it is to retain memory and carry out the rituals

⁹¹ See Assmann (1995: 130-131) for the different forms that this can take.

⁹² She differentiates between canons in three main areas of cultural memory; religion (in which 'canon' is a body of 'sacred texts' that are unchangeable), art (in which a 'canon of classics' may be found), and history (where the 'collective autobiography' of a nation is taught through key events, symbols and dates) (A. Assmann 2010: 100-101).

⁹³ See Aleida Assmann (2010: 100-102) for discussion of the 'canon'. She defines it (2010: 100), in a religious context, as 'a text or body of texts that is decreed to be sacred and must not be changed or exchanged for any other text'. Assmann (2006: 41) writes, further, that it is the 'act of canonization that produces the decisive shift from ritual to textual coherence', emphasising the importance of canon in literate cultures.

⁹⁴ See, for example, communicative memory, discussed below (ch. 1.6).

related to it, whether this be through access to specific texts or through remembering and reciting oral traditions (Assmann 2010: 114).⁹⁵ Such specialists may play an important role in supporting the ‘canonisation’ put forward by Aleida Assmann.⁹⁶ Again, this is in contrast to other forms of collective memory, such as communicative memory, for which no such organisational presence exists.

Alongside this he adds the characteristic of ‘obligation’ which he defines as a ‘clear system of values and differentiations in importance which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols’ (Assmann 1995: 131). Again, there is a clear delineation in the supports to cultural memory and a clear system by which the memory is retained.

The final characteristic put forward by Assmann is ‘reflexivity’ (Assmann 1995: 132). By this he means that a social group develops its own values, parameters, and canon through which it identifies and assesses its own developments or those imposed by the outside world; this then provides a framework by which the past can be interpreted.⁹⁷ The assessment criteria are not those of a specific individual but are the agreed values of the group; these values define the social system of the group.⁹⁸

Assmann’s cultural memory, therefore, focuses on the role of society in shaping and interpreting its memories which, in turn, inform the group’s own sense of identity. In this sense, cultural memory is much the same as other forms of group, or collective, memory.

⁹⁵ See Assmann (2010: 114-118) for further discussion of the role and function of specialists. He notes (2008: 114) that specialists are not needed with regards communicative memory, where participation is not as clearly differentiated as it is in cultural memory.

⁹⁶ Cubitt (2007: 149) also notes that the bearers of canon, or knowledge, receive a high social status within the community, which may encourage individuals to guard this knowledge carefully so as to maintain their elevated position; knowledge, in this way, becomes highly restricted.

⁹⁷ See also Punt (2012: 43).

However, cultural memory emphasises the role that institutions and specialists play in retaining memory for future generations in the form of canon or archive, based in material forms. It is here that cultural memory divides from other forms, in particular communicative memory, which is discussed next.

1.6. COMMUNICATIVE MEMORY

In contrast to cultural memory, Assmann writes that communicative memory is ‘characterized by a high degree of non specialization, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability and disorganization’ (Assmann 1995: 126). He recognises a close link between communicative memory and oral history and sets a maximum lifespan of one-hundred years (Assmann 1995: 127, 2006: 24).⁹⁹ Weltzer (2010: 285) supports this viewpoint, writing that communicative memory may survive for up to four generations. This is in contrast with cultural memory whose lifespan is far longer; as Assmann (1995: 128) writes, ‘just as communicative memory is characterized by its proximity to the everyday, cultural memory is characterized by its distance from the everyday’. As such, communicative memory contains those events which are within living memory. To become a part of long-term memory they must develop cultural forms, undergoing a process of canonisation.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, Weltzer (2010: 285) defines communicative memory as an ‘interactive practice located within the tension between individuals’ and groups’ recall of the past’, thus

⁹⁸ Ancient Egyptian culture appears to have held to its own values (see, for example, discussion of ‘decorum’ chs. 2.3.3 and 3.1.3).

⁹⁹ Assmann (2006: 24) sets this limit because this is the longest period for which personal memory, as well as the ‘direct communication of others’ can be presumed; the volume and lifetime of memory can be expended through the use of texts.

emphasising its existence in both the personal and communal spheres; this dual nature is supported by Markowitsch (2010: 282).¹⁰¹ The complex relationship between individual and group memory should be considered when looking, not only at communicative memory, but at all forms of collective memory; while Halbwachs (1992: 43) sets all memories within socially created frameworks, Assmann (2006: 1) recognises that memory ‘has a twofold basis, neural and social’, with both aspects playing a role in the formation and development of memory.

¹⁰⁰ It is at this point, notes Assmann (1995: 128), that Halbwachs marks the end of collective memory, seeing what survived beyond this point as ‘history’. See above (chs. 1.5.1 and 1.5.2) for more discussion of ‘canonisation’.

¹⁰¹ He suggests (2010: 282) that there are two ways to address communicative memory: the first looks at the way in which it is retained individually, looking at the processes of memory within the brain; the second, which is more pertinent to this study, is to focus on its place in the world, looking at such aspects as monuments, language, poems and so on.

1.7. MEMORY IN THIS STUDY

Having looked at various terms used in memory studies, it is important now to clarify how memory will be referred to in this study. To avoid confusion, the term ‘cultural memory’ will be used primarily throughout; this is because it is the term that fits most closely with the evidence presented. It need not be entirely constrained by the work of the Assmanns, but may be understood as encompassing a wider remit. While it is not necessary to lay out all of the aspects of cultural memory again, some of the key concepts which relate to this study will be briefly acknowledged here, to demonstrate its relevance to the study.

A key aspect of cultural memory is its reliance of primary evidence. Cubitt (2007: 14) writes that the term can be used as a ‘virtual synonym’ for ‘material heritage’; this emphasises the link between cultural memory and material heritage or primary evidence, which forms the basis for this study. In this understanding, therefore, cultural memory provides the clearest and most accurate term for the memory processes discussed in this study.

In timeframe, also, cultural memory provides the most suitable framework within which to understand the evidence. While the timeframe ranges from almost zero to more than 2,000 years, that which is included in this study was intended to, and could, last for many generations. The memories discussed are not individual, communicative memories, passed down orally through society, but those retained in material culture for generations. In this way, although some of the evidence relates to kings and queens of the recent past, it is not simply autobiographical.¹⁰² It is a material record of individuals who were viewed as part of a long line of kingship reaching from the immediate to the distant past, individuals who

provided continuity between the past and the present and were subsumed into the line of royal ancestors.

The term ‘cultural memory’ will, therefore, be primarily used throughout this study, adhering to the understanding laid out above. Other forms of memory will, however, be acknowledged where appropriate. Furthermore, where the form of memory does not closely fit with any recognised terms, or where comments are more generally applicable, the term ‘memory’ may be used without further clarification to denote all forms of socially held memory.

1.8. MEMORY IN CONTEXT

1.8.1. THE ROLE OF THE KING

In their work on ancient states, Goldstone and Haldon (2009: 11) write that the success of long-term state formation requires ‘acceptance of the state as normatively desirable ... by the broader populace from which it draws its resources’. The theologian Launderville (2003: 1-3) agrees, noting that royal authority demands the support of the people, and stresses the place of public perception of the king. This emphasises the importance of public acceptance of the political and social status quo, including the place of the elite and the ruler; without this the state will not function in the long-term. It is important, then, to understand the concepts that underlie the power of the elite, and the ways in which this can be promulgated on a popular level. The next section will look at theories of kingship, both specifically relating to ancient Egypt and more general, to examine more fully the role of the king as well as how Egyptian beliefs can be understood as part of a wider scholarship.

¹⁰² Although, as noted above (ch. 1.4.4.), autobiography and social forms of memory are not mutually exclusive.

1.8.1.1. THE ‘TWO BODIES’ OF THE KING

The concept of the ruler as having both mortal and immortal aspects, and the importance of dynastic continuity, feature strongly in literature about kingship in both early and modern societies.¹⁰³ This is most clearly set out in Kantorowicz’s (1997) work ‘*The King’s Two Bodies*’.¹⁰⁴ Originally published in English in 1957, it looks at political theory of the medieval period and the role of the king. The central tenet is the dual nature of the king; while his natural body is mortal and, as such, is born and dies, the royal persona is immortal. Boureau (2001: 192-195) also cites the importance of the political body of the king as ‘an embodiment of the state’ in early modern France;¹⁰⁵ this further emphasises the role of the political body in representing and acting for the good of the country or community. Boureau (2001: 195) does note, however, that in absolutist regimes, the idea of two bodies can be superseded by a complete absorption of the person of the king into the one, political figure; the king becomes entirely subsumed into the state, as Louis XIV demonstrated when he claimed, ‘l’état, c’est moi’.

The concept of an immortal king contained in a mortal body can be easily found in Egyptian culture, wherein the pharaoh possessed the royal *k3*¹⁰⁶ and his divinity was renewed regularly

¹⁰³ See, for example, Boureau (2001), Lecoq (2001) S. Price (1984), L. Bell (1998), Bommas (2013).

¹⁰⁴ Bommas (2013: 198-201) also looks at theories of kingship put forward by Kantorowicz in the context of ancient Egypt, focusing on the developing of the concept of the two bodies. He writes (2013: 198-199) that ‘the king has a natural and therefore mortal, personal body and a supernatural and political body’.

¹⁰⁵ He notes favourably Kantorowicz’s concept of the two bodies of the king, suggesting that it can be traced back to Louis IX, who embodied this duality, acting in his private life as a ‘devout Christian’, and in his public life as sovereign king (Boureau 2001: 192-193).

¹⁰⁶ As discussed, for example, by L. Bell (1998).

through rituals.¹⁰⁷ The king's divinity should not, therefore, be seen as being unconditional but as needing regular re-affirmation. D. Redford (1995: 160-161) places emphasis on the king as one chosen by the gods as an 'earthly surrogate', but who needed instruction from them in his role and would face judgement after death as a human. This, again, emphasises the connection between the mortal and the divine as set out by Kantorowicz. In studies of Egyptian kingship, the focus tends to be on the divine, political body as this was the 'public' face of the king (Bommas 2013: 203). But, unlike Boureau's understanding of absolute kingship,¹⁰⁸ the individual nature of the king was not unimportant; the king was only 'divine' after he had gone through the necessary rituals. The conditional nature of the 'divine' king, therefore, must not be forgotten; it plays an important role, in particular, in instances wherein the pharaoh has been officially rejected. Kantorowicz agrees that the division of the two bodies of the king allows for such events as regicide and civil war, as the mortal king can fail and, in failing, can no longer bear claim to the immortal body of the king;¹⁰⁹ if this happens then he may be punished as a mortal.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Bommas (2013: 198), who discusses the Investiture ritual which daily renewed the pharaoh's divine and immortal self. In this understanding the pharaoh has two natures; the human, which is his natural form, and the divine, which is restored each morning through specific rituals.

¹⁰⁸ See previous paragraph.

¹⁰⁹ Kantorowicz (1997: 369) highlights the case of Richard II in England in the Fourteenth century AD. Redford's recognition of the need for the pharaoh to face judgement after death as a human suggests that this concept was a feature of ancient Egyptian culture; as a king he is protected by his role, but as a human he is fallible (D. Redford 1995: 160).

1.8.1.2. THE ‘PERPETUITY OF THE REALM’

The continued existence of the king, according to Kantorowicz (1997: 316), relies on three things; ‘the perpetuity of the dynasty, the corporate nature of the crown, and the immortality of the royal dignity’.¹¹⁰

These ideas are particularly pertinent to the present study. The continuation of the dynasty, which lends legitimacy to the current ruler, is underlined by the commemoration of royal ancestors; Kantorowicz (1997) emphasises the increased importance of effigies in medieval Europe and the place of deceased kings as objects of worship. The ‘crown’ included in Kantorowicz’s second criterion refers to the whole body politic rather than to the individual king. The emphasis here is on the immortality of the crown; as Kantorowicz (1997: 337), following the medieval Italian jurist Baldus,¹¹¹ writes that in addition to the physical crown worn by the king there is an ‘invisible and immaterial Crown – encompassing all the royal rights and privileges indispensable for the government of the body politic – which was perpetual and descended either from god directly or by the dynastic right of inheritance’. Within the ‘crown’, therefore, are included aspects of dynastic continuity as well as divine right.

¹¹⁰ While these are not directly comparable to the bases of kingship set out by D. Redford (1995), they share a common thread; the dual nature of the king as straddling the mortal and the divine worlds. Redford (1995: 164) discusses the place of the king as the earthly representative of the god Amun; emphasis is placed on the king as descended from the gods, and as the holder of divine favour, but who carries out his purpose in the mortal realm. These two aspects are central to Kantorowicz’ work.

¹¹¹ Baldus di Ubaldis (1327-1400) studied and taught law, writing various works on the legalities of the schism in the Catholic Church, feudal and canon law among other things (see, for example, Canning (1987)). Canning (1987: 216) translates a quotation from Baldus’ 1575 writing, ‘*Consilium*’, which reads, ‘two things coincide in the king: his human person and what he signifies [i.e. his *dignitas*] ... The king certainly fills the place of two persons’; here, an early version of Kantorowicz’s theory of the two bodies can certainly be found.

In his third criterion Kantorowicz looks at the immortality of the ‘royal dignity’, thus incorporating the concepts contained in the first two criteria. This royal dignity transcended that of the individual king, referring instead to ‘the singularity of the royal office, to the sovereignty vested in the king by the people, and resting individually in the king alone’ (Kantorowicz 1997: 384).¹¹² The royal ‘dignity’ passed from one king on his death to the next, thus incorporating the immortal aspect of kingship. Again, in the current study, the concept of the royal *k3* in ancient Egypt can be related to the idea of royal dignity.

The transference of royal dignity through the dynasty means that remembrance of the past plays a key role in the legitimation of the king; the rightful place of the king is underscored by the memory of his predecessors. The link between memory and political power can be found in other scholarly works. Connerton (1989: 1) writes that ‘control of a society’s memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power’. He writes, furthermore, that images of the past can be used to legitimise the current social order (Connerton 1989: 3). This emphasises the role that memory plays in supporting the status quo; it is, therefore, important for the political elite to develop links between shared memory and their own position in society. Morrissey (2001) discusses the memory of Charlemagne in supporting the place of the king in early modern France; he cites (2001: 139), for example, the use of ‘le grand’ by Louis XIV which harked back to Charlemagne, the only other king to have used this suffix, as well as Napoleon’s statement that ‘I am Charlemagne’ at his coronation (Morrissey 2001: 155). Morrissey (2001: 140) suggests that the importance of Charlemagne was that he represented a break with the past, ‘the beginning of a new era’. Boureau (2001: 184) supports Morrissey’s viewpoint, calling the king an important ‘lieu de mémoire’. Again, clear links can be drawn with ancient

¹¹² The ‘dignity’ had not only be used in relation to royal authority, but was a known concept in early medieval Europe, having been vested in religious figures as well (see Giesey (1960: 177-192), Kantorowicz (1997: 383-450) for more discussion of the ‘dignity’).

Egypt, where royal ancestors guaranteed political and even economic stability, thus emphasising the important role of the king even after death (see Bommas (2008: 59)).

Symbols can also play an important role in supporting the ruling elite. Lecoq (2001: 217), for example, looks at outward representations of power such as symbols, signs and gestures; these distinguish the king from other people and can help to perpetuate a sense of royal legitimacy.¹¹³ She suggests that such symbols may play a role in the development of memory relating to the king, with ‘histories’ being created about symbols such as the royal coat of arms (Lecoq 2001: 230-235). The role of symbolic objects is not only found in more modern societies; similar objects, such as crowns, amulets and clothing, also supported kingship in ancient Egypt (see Bommas (2013: 217)). These memory aides, again, help to perpetuate the legitimacy of the ruling family in the minds of their subjects.¹¹⁴ Performance itself also played a role in this. Gasnier (2006: 261) discusses the importance of history plays in supporting the formation and development of local patrimonies, again emphasising the role of memory in supporting social structures. He goes further, suggesting that historical festivals could ‘place the local past in the past of the nation’ (Gasnier 2006: 277). It is important, therefore, to connect local experience with the national structure; histories and memory can only be effective in legitimising the state if they engage the subjects of that state. Festivals and rituals which draw the local into the national play an important part in this, ensuring that the king is constantly visible, and that the memories which relate to him are accessible.¹¹⁵

1.8.2. THE ANCIENT WORLD

¹¹³ She cites the work of Percy Shramm, who emphasises both the signs (crowns, sceptres, clothing) and the gestures (ceremonies, rituals) of power (Lecoq 2001: 217). She also discusses symbolic images and writing, although she notes that not everyone would have necessarily been able to ‘decode’ the symbolism (Lecoq 2001: 220-222).

¹¹⁴ The example of crowns is discussed later in the study (see chs. 3.4.4, 3.6.1.2, 3.6.2.4).

Studies of kingship and remembering in the ancient world, whilst not common, have added some scholarship to the debate, often focusing on the interplay of memory and power in ancient states and empires. Particular notice should be taken of Price's work, *'Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor'* (S. Price 1984), and Morris and Scheidel's edited volume, *'The Dynamics of Ancient Empires. State Power from Assyria to Byzantium'* (Morris and Scheidel 2009), which look at the dynamics of power and state in ancient societies. Both of these studies touch on the importance of memory. Jonker's work on *'The Topography of Remembrance. The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia'* (Jonker 1995) is one of the few to focus specifically on memory in ancient society, alongside Williams' work on *'Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain'* (Williams 2006); this looks at the role of memorial practices in the development of memory, asking how related 'ritual practices could mediate the past and create memorials afresh' (Williams 2006: 20). As Williams (2006: 12) notes, studies of social memory have recently begun to look more frequently at memorial practices and commemoration;¹¹⁶ she argues that, in non-Western traditions, the funeral was, and still is, seen as a 'process of selective remembering' rather than simply being the point at which the body is interred and a monument raised (see also Hertz 2004: 86).¹¹⁷ As can be seen, however, the range of literature that focuses specifically on memory is not large.

¹¹⁵ The role of action and ritual is discussed in detail in the fourth chapter.

¹¹⁶ Barrett (1994: 40-69), for example, discusses the role of mortuary monuments and rituals in ancient Britain, noting (1994: 51) that 'funerals do not simply look back upon the life of the deceased but also enable the participants to look forwards to the remaking of the community'. Tilley (1994: 202, 208) notes that mortuary monuments 'became *actively* appropriated by individuals and groups' and that these monuments, or 'cultural markers', were used to 'create a new sense of place, harnessed to legitimize patterns of social control'.

¹¹⁷ One might also argue that, in Western societies, similar functions are fulfilled by events such as memorial services and wakes. Hertz (2004: 86) describes death as 'a dual and painful process of mental disintegration and synthesis'.

1.8.2.1. RULER CULTS IN EGYPT AND THE ANCIENT WORLD¹¹⁸

The role of ruler cults is emphasised, for example, by S. Price (1984: 1) who notes their importance in the formation of societies; he writes that these cults, which were performed regularly for an absent ruler, were ‘created and organized by the subjects of a great empire to represent to themselves the ruling power’. These cults were developed to promulgate the memory of a ruler who was not present, although most of the evidence is formal which leads to difficulties in assessing how these cults were understood by members of the community (S. Price 1984: 4-5). A lack of private evidence, however, does not mean that cults were necessarily unimportant to individuals in ancient societies as preservation of evidence cannot always be relied upon.¹¹⁹ Evidence for personal links with Egyptian ruler cults are sometimes more forthcoming; Budka’s study of New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period decorated door jambs, for example, demonstrates what appears to be a more private association with the ruler. From the Eighteenth Dynasty, she particularly emphasises the cults of Thutmose III and of Akhenaten and Nefertiti (Budka 2001: esp. 53-61); door jambs showing worship of the royal cartouche are linked with the cult of the living king, and interpreted as individual expressions of loyalty in the hope of gaining security and prosperity (Budka 2001: 60-61). Further evidence may be found in private tomb depictions, particularly dating to the Ramesside Period, wherein statues of royal ancestors are seen carried on the shoulders of priests (see, for example, Černý (1927: fig. 14)),¹²⁰ although individual involvement in festivals outside of the priesthood is less directly indicated.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Imperial cults in ancient Rome are discussed in more detail below, ch. 4.1.6.

¹¹⁹ S. Price notes, for example, that only two documents survive which evidence the imperial cult in Asia; this does not, however, mean that this cult was not important (S. Price 1984: 79).

¹²⁰ For further examples, see Heffernan (2010: App. 3).

¹²¹ Public involvement in festivals is discussed in more detail in ch. 4.4.

A key aspect of Egyptian royal cults was dynastic continuity,¹²² and this outcome can also be recognised in other civilisations. Although Roman imperial cults, for example, tended to focus on individuals rather than dynasties,¹²³ they were intended to last beyond the death of the emperor, retaining his memory and providing a sense of the continuity of rule. Simon Price (1984: 61) discusses the cult of the ‘eternally ruling emperor’ although he notes that many cults were not long-lasting. A clear contrast to this was the cult of Augustus which survived for much longer, quite possibly because the calendar had been changed so that the new year began on his birthday (S. Price 1984: 61). In his turn, Augustus¹²⁴ wore the image of Alexander the Great¹²⁵ on his signet ring (Hopkins 2009: 178), thus linking himself with this ruler. The role of dynastic links is also emphasised in other ancient cultures showing that, as in early modern states, ancient elites also understood the value of linking oneself to past rulers; Darius I,¹²⁶ ruler of the Achaemenid empire, for example, made efforts to promote the relationship between his own Achaemenid people and the Teispid lineage of Cyprus (Wiesehöfer 2009: 72). Launderville (2003: 166-167) also notes the importance of ancestor cults, in both the private and the royal sphere, in ancient Mesopotamia.¹²⁷

One must not, however, assume that ancient ruler cults were solely political tools; Price (1984: 71), for example, suggests that the wider sociological context of the cults, as performing a function within the community, must also be acknowledged. The imperial cult was built onto already existing social practices rather than being created from nothing solely

¹²² See, for example, kinglists as discussed below, ch. 3.6.2.5.

¹²³ Interestingly, S. Price (1984: 170) discusses the crowns worn by imperial priests on which, he writes, were shown up to fifteen busts of the reigning emperor, his family and his predecessors. This shows that the idea of dynastic legacy was not always ignored in the imperial cults, even if the focus of the cult was on an individual. This is similar to the Egyptian cults discussed in the present study in which dynastic right is emphasised.

¹²⁴ Whose reign lasted from c. 27 BC - AD 14.

¹²⁵ Who ruled from c. 336-323 BC.

¹²⁶ Who reigned from c. 522-486 BC.

¹²⁷ He cites (2003: 166) the work of van der Toorn (1996: 52), who suggests that commemoration ‘endows the living with a family identity that is anchored in the past’.

to legitimise the ruler.¹²⁸ Launderville (2003: 348) inverts this idea, suggesting that the king actually played an important role in centralising the community; royal and imperial cults, therefore, can be seen as playing an important social role, providing a focal point around which group identity may develop. Whilst admittedly serving a purpose for the state, they also fulfilled an important role themselves within the community; rather than the cult serving a purpose for the ruler, the ruler served a purpose for the cult which, itself, had an important function within the community. As Price (1984: 71) writes, they were ‘not simply dreamed up in order to flatter the emperor’.

1.8.2.2. ORAL TRADITION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Due to the non-literate nature of many ancient societies it is important to look also at the role of oral tradition. Discussion of this can be found in Sakellariou’s study of memory and tradition in ancient Greece;¹²⁹ he writes that oral traditions were widely used in this period and goes on to recognise the problems of reliability in oral transmission (Sakellariou 1990: 19). One of the main issues when discussing oral traditions in ancient societies is that there is no record of its first instance. Furthermore, it is not usually possible to know when a tradition was first written down and what changes or incarnations it had already gone through by this stage (Sakellariou 1990: 25). It is, therefore, more difficult to analyse these traditions and their development. One must rely on sporadic recordings of oral traditions and attempt to piece together their development, unlike in literate societies where each incarnation may have been written down. Vansina (1965: 172) notes, further, that oral traditions are limited and biased by the political system in which they exist and, similarly, Connerton (1989: 76)

¹²⁸ S. Price (1984: 98) writes that ‘only when cults acquired a communal organisation ... did they give a place to the emperor’.

¹²⁹ See, for example, Scodel (2004) who discusses the oral and performative aspects of Greek epic poetry.

suggests that oral traditions are limited by the need for standardisation and recall. The same, however, may also be said to be true of written history and traditions, and Launderville (2003: 190) notes that performances (which includes oral tradition) are often more engaging than written sources, and so their role in society should not be underestimated.

But to what degree can the beliefs of non-literate societies really be understood by modern scholars? Where oral traditions still exist, these may provide an insight. But where oral traditions have died out, one is left with a bigger challenge. Here, however, an understanding of ritual can play a part; through reconstructing the performative aspects of oral societies, one may gain deeper access to the beliefs of individuals who lived millennia ago.¹³⁰ In other words, the study of material culture, and of how commemoration occurred, can help to create a narrative of how memory played a part in these societies, particularly those in which oral tradition was prevalent.¹³¹ This focus on the link between memory and ritual practice links well with the importance placed on ritual by Assmann in his discussion of cultural memory. Price (1984: 121), however, questions whether a diffusion of ideas from elite to non-elite can be assumed in the absence of clear evidence of an oral tradition.¹³² It is, therefore, important not to assume the existence of oral traditions, although one should not dismiss their potential importance.¹³³

¹³⁰ Williams (2006: 20) suggests that while it is not possible for archaeologists to get inside the minds of individuals from ancient societies to understand how they consciously viewed their dead and the past, an aspect that an understanding of oral traditions might shed light on, scholars can 'consider the ways in which ritual practices could mediate the past and create memories afresh: the performance on social memory'.

¹³¹ Williams (2006: 33) sets out the ways in which the various 'technologies of remembrance' (oral, written, ritual, architectural and others) work together to develop retrospective and prospective memories, looking both backwards, to ancestors and legend, and forwards to social identity and group continuity.

¹³² The importance of oral tradition should not, however, be ignored; in ancient Greece, oral communication was given precedence over written, with written records of literature not being thought of as adequate proof by themselves until the mid-fourth century BC (Thomas 1992: 3).

¹³³ Sakellariou (1990: 19) further stresses the difference between 'oral tradition' and 'oral history'; he suggests that while 'oral tradition' relates to information which has been transferred from person to person, oral history incorporates only eyewitness accounts. Thomas (1992: 6) supports this distinction, noting that 'oral communication' incorporates a range of concepts in ancient Greek culture, including the use of witnesses by historians as well as the telling of literature which, she notes, can also be recorded in written form and then read

Specialists play an important role in oral as well as other forms of memory. Sakellariou (1990: 20-21) discusses the important role of ‘highly qualified persons who can keep and transmit traditions as faithfully as possible’, suggesting that these ‘specialists’ are revered both for their intellect and because they have been ‘entrusted with a function of great importance for the community, which wanted to preserve its collective memory and its identity’. The elevated role of specialists in society mirrors that in Assmann’s cultural memory theory; the individuals who were entrusted with retaining the memory and related rituals of their community were given great respect and reverence. Memory was a central part of a society’s identity and so were its keepers.

1.8.3 CURRENT LITERATURE ON ROYAL CULTS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Jaroslav Černý was the first to study the posthumous cult of an Egyptian king in depth. His article, ‘*Le culte d'Amenophis I chez les ouvriers de la Nécropole thébaine*’ looked at the cult of Amenhotep I on the West Bank at Thebes (Černý 1927). Černý’s study focuses on the village of Deir el-Medina, examining the evidence relating to the cult of Amenhotep I and his consort, Ahmose-Nefertari. He looks in some detail at tomb decoration which relates to the topic; one example is the decoration in Theban tomb TT2, a Ramesside tomb, where Amenhotep I is shown in two separate places, both scenes depicting the king carried by

aloud. Sakellariou also emphasises again the role that current social structures play in moulding memory and tradition, suggesting (1990: 20) that tradition may be seen, not as a reflection of historical reality, but as showing how society views its past. He notes that this is the view of advocates of the structuralist school of thought, writing that, according to this school, traditions ‘serve the social and political designs of the present’ (Sakellariou 1990: 20). It should not, therefore, be seen as representative of all studies on memory.

priests in a palanquin (Černý 1927: 167-168).¹³⁴ His work focuses on the different ‘forms’ of Amenhotep I and the contexts in which they appear.¹³⁵

Černý also looks at festivals relating to the cult. Ostraca give information about these celebrations (Černý 1927: 183).¹³⁶ He also discusses the oracular aspect of Amenhotep I’s cult as recorded, for example, on Ostrakon Gardiner 4 in which the sculptor, Kaha, calls upon the oracle of Amenhotep I to settle a dispute relating to the theft of some clothes; in this instance, the oracle confirmed the judgement that had been passed (Černý 1927: 178-179).

Černý’s work draws a picture of a widespread cult relating to this one king, particularly in the Ramesside Period. He does not, however, delve into the social aspects of memory; he treats these commemorations as evidence of a religious cult similar to those of the gods. While one should not reject the idea that the cults of deceased kings and cults of the gods were similar in many ways, it is important to look at the memory of royal kings as more than simply religious cults. Perhaps, through this, the cults of the gods can also be understood in a new way.¹³⁷

Gabi Hollender (2009) also looked at the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. Her study focuses on cataloguing and analysing tomb depictions at Thebes. The focus is on finding and presenting the evidence with some commentary, but without a detailed discussion of the sociological or religious meanings of the scenes.

¹³⁴ See also PMI.I: 7, GIA photos 1993-1995, Heffernan (2010: figs. 1, 4, app. 3).

¹³⁵ See, for example, the epithet ‘*p3 dmi*’ (‘of the town’ (Černý 1927: 167)). Bommas (1995: 3-4) notes the use of another epithet, ‘*p3 t3*’ in a Ramesside graffito at Elephantine; this epithet is also found at Deir el-Medina, which implies a cult of the same form of Amenhotep I at this site. Bommas suggests that the cult may have been brought to the island by previous residents of Deir el-Medina.

¹³⁶ For example, Ostrakon Cairo 25234.

¹³⁷ One should not forget that the Egyptian kings were typically viewed as descendants of the gods; see, for example, the Turin Canon which traces the line of kingship to before the First Dynasty, back to a time in which gods ruled the land (see Gardiner (1959) for the text). D. Redford (1986: 1-18) and Ryholt (2004) provide good analyses of the contents.

Works analysing similar evidence (and adding further categories) have added to this field of study. Theresa Moore's unpublished PhD thesis looks at the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari in Thebes in the New Kingdom (Moore 1994). It discusses the memory of the pair in Egyptian society, but the focus is on them as the figures of worship and the religious aspects of their remembrance. While, therefore, being an important work relating to the memory of royal figures, it does not directly address the sociology of memory. Similarly, Yasmin el-Shazly's PhD thesis looks at the worship of royal ancestors in the New Kingdom (el-Shazly 2008);¹³⁸ as she writes, the focus of the study is to gain an understanding of 'postmortem deification of royal figures, how it happens, what it means and the relationship between these "deities" and those who are still alive on earth' (el-Shazly 2008: 16). She restricts the main part of her study to evidence from Deir el-Medina, thus meaning that any conclusions drawn are limited in their scope due to the unusual nature of the site.¹³⁹ The focus of these two studies, however, on attempting to understand non-royal approaches to ancestor worship provides an important insight into the lives of the non-elite and their connection with state ideology.¹⁴⁰

A further group of studies look at another aspect of the treatment of Amenhotep I as a cult figure; these relate to the daily offering ritual. Bacchi (1942) provides a translation of the

¹³⁸ This thesis has recently been published but references in this study refer to the unpublished thesis, to which the author had access.

¹³⁹ Deir el-Medina is usually regarded as an atypical example of an urban site due to the skilled nature of the workmen and their royal patronage (see, for example, Bommas (2012a: 82), who describes the village as 'in jeglicher Hinsicht ein Ausnahmefal'). Similar issues are found with many studies of royal ancestor worship in the New Kingdom.

¹⁴⁰ A further study which examines knowledge of the past at Deir el-Medina, and in particular knowledge of past kings, is that of McDowell (1992); here the retention of royal ancestors in public memory through varying media is analysed with a brief discussion of the religious and historical motivations. Exell (2006) also looks at royal cults from a private perspective, focusing on votive stelae at Deir el-Medina which record the Hathor cult and its relation to royal cults, although the focus is on the cult of the living king.

ritual,¹⁴¹ as do Cooney and McClain (2006) for the ritual meal.¹⁴² Cooney and McClain (2006: 42) refer to the ritual as a ‘cult service of a local Theban god: the deified Amenhotep I’ and suggest that it is an adapted ritual of Amun; with this study, therefore, the focus is again on the worship of the king as a deified being.

Other studies have looked at different aspects of the remembrance of royal ancestors. D. Redford (1986) looks at kinglists, listing those found in both royal and private contexts. He discusses what these can tell us about how Egyptians viewed the past, and in particular how they viewed royal ancestors. Yet, while the evidence catalogued is both royal and private, the discussion focuses on the official view of the past, as propagated by the state. It, therefore, provides excellent evidence of kinglists and a clear examination of official ideology but does not delve in depth into private belief, or the concept of cultural memory. Haring (1997) focuses on the economic aspect of royal memorial temples, emphasising the practical aspects of this important link with the past. Other studies to have looked specifically at royal memorial temples are Ullmann (2002) and Schröder (2010).

Barbara Gilli took a different approach to the study of the memory of royal ancestors, looking at the reuse of Old Kingdom blocks and statues by Middle Kingdom kings.¹⁴³ Again, this work focuses on state activity and should, therefore, be seen as more closely linked with studies such as that of Snape (2011), which reflects on state commemoration of past rulers. Wildung (2003) connects royal and private practice, focusing again on the reuse and

¹⁴¹ This study notes the importance of a text in the British Museum (BM EA 10689), which contained part of the ritual, but focuses on a second text, which was shared between Cairo Museum and Turin Museum (see Bacchi (1942: 14-16) for references).

¹⁴² See Cooney and McClain (2006: 42) for further references for the ritual of Amenhotep I. Bommas (2012a: 79) notes the posthumous cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, suggesting that Amenhotep’s cult served as a template for subsequent royal cult practice.

repetition of artistic styles as a way of linking the present with the past; he analyses the influence of Middle Kingdom styles on later periods, suggesting that the ‘new dynasty’ used repetition to prove its ‘loyalty to the national past’ (Wildung 2003: 78).

Additionally, Wildung (1969) provided an early study of posthumous royal cults of Old Kingdom kings, focusing on those of the first four dynasties. He looked at each king in turn, listing the evidence for their remembrance, and so his work acts a catalogue of evidence for the cults of Old Kingdom rulers with some analytical comment.¹⁴⁴ As with some of the other studies noted, the chief importance of Wildung’s work for the current study is in signposting relevant pieces of evidence. Its importance in encouraging closer study of the cults and memory of deceased kings should not, however, be forgotten. Two further studies look at the cults of Old Kingdom kings; Shirai (2005) traces the memorial cults of rulers in the Old Kingdom, creating a timeline of activity, while Malek (2000) looks at the revival of these same cults in the Middle Kingdom. These works provide some background to the practices discussed in this study, although while Shirai posits a link with the legitimization of the king, Malek suggests that the impetus for such cults came from the local community as a way of communicating with the divine. Here both state and local influence is implied as a motivation for the support of royal memorial cults.

A final group of studies have looked at private commemoration in Egyptian society.

Harrington (2013) looks at private ancestor worship in Egypt and the ways in which the living interacted with those who had died through funerals, cults and memorial sites. Wildung (1977) takes two specific ancestor cults, those of Amenhotep and Imhotep, and looks in detail

¹⁴³ Although her original PhD thesis on the subject has not been available, an article based on this has been published, and gives the key aims and conclusions of her work (see Gilli (2009)).

¹⁴⁴ Although it should be noted that the catalogue is not complete; several graffiti, for example, are not included.

at how they were a part of Egyptian culture and belief. Von Lieven's article on '*Deified Humans*' gives an overview ideas relating to the deification of private individuals after death, which she suggests first occurs in the Middle Kingdom.¹⁴⁵ Studies such as these help to develop understanding of cults of the dead, and the ways in which the living communicate with their ancestors; as such, they are relevant to the questions asked here, but they do not specifically enhance understanding of the remembrance of royal figures.

1.8.4. MEMORY AND THE STATE IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

In the Eighteenth Dynasty the Egyptian ruling factions were recovering from a period of uncertainty and division within the country. Kings such as Thutmose III silenced dissenters by great battlefield victories (D. Redford 1986: 186), but other methods were needed to create a sense of legitimacy,¹⁴⁶ and secure control of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁴⁷ Links with royal 'ancestors', such as seen in the Beautiful Festival of the Valley,¹⁴⁸ as well as Amenhotep II's re-instatement of the *sd*-Festival, are examples of methods employed by rulers to encourage public acceptance and support. By invoking symbols from the past and linking them with the current ruling regime, it was possible to support the development of cultural memory so that it enveloped the current pharaoh.¹⁴⁹ As will be discussed, there was often little difference

¹⁴⁵ She uses the examples of the cults of Heqaib at Elephantine and of Isi at Edfu, and argues that cults of private individuals were of 'major social importance and appeal to the respective local population' (von Lieven 2010: 2).

¹⁴⁶ As noted by Baines (1994: 7), legitimisation in the context of ancient Egypt is defined by Otto (1969: 385-389) as being founded in three main ways; royal action, succession and myth.

¹⁴⁷ The importance of legitimising the ruler is noted, for example, by Baines (1994: 3-4), who writes that 'the institution of kingship and individual holders of office needed continual legitimisation in order to maintain its status in the face of developments that might devalue it or rob it of sanctity and efficacy'.

¹⁴⁸ In the New Kingdom, this festival celebrated the dead and included a procession of the gods, led by a statue of Amun-Ra, from Karnak Temple on the East Bank at Luxor across to the West Bank. Sullivan (2008: 11) notes that the route was changed in the reign of Thutmose III to allow the procession to visit the memorial temples of royal ancestors, and that, after this, 'the visitation of royal mortuary temples became an important part of the ceremony'. This festival is discussed more below (see ch. 4.4.1).

¹⁴⁹ The concept of eternal kingship, such as is discussed by Kantorowicz (1997), through linking the current ruler with the past is vital in understanding Egyptian royal ideology. D. Redford (1995: 159-161), for example, notes

understood between the living king and royal ancestors; even before death the king could be seen as divine, a state that was further consolidated through his funerary rituals after death (Bommas 2008: 58-59). Daily and annual rituals emphasised the divine nature of the king, with the Opet Festival serving as the clearest display of his continued godlike state (see L. Bell (1998)).¹⁵⁰ Memorial cults functioned both during the lifetime of the king and after his death, suggesting that the living and the dead king were much the same.¹⁵¹ By treating the living king in much the same way as his ancestors, these rituals further subsumed the pharaoh into the line of kings that had gone before him; he was not seen to be outside of the realm of memory, but as a part of it.

The link between the king and his ancestors could act as an important tool of legitimization (Shirai 2005: 159), although it should not be assumed that the motivation behind such cults and rituals was solely that of the state. Malek, for example, suggests, that much of the impetus behind these revivals was local, with kings being invoked as intercessors (Malek 2000: 257). This would suggest that royal memorial cults were not simply set up by the state to promulgate the idea of a divine king, although the divine nature of the king was important, but were valued by communities as a way to access the divine through important figures from the past. Through these cults, cultural memory was developed which gave the state a sense of

the tendency of Eighteenth Dynasty rulers to connect themselves with the Twelfth Dynasty, a period considered to represent order and success through art, administration and ideas of kingship.

¹⁵⁰ Bommas (2013) discusses in detail the Egyptian Investiture ritual, in which the living king, or his statue, was the recipient of rituals similar to those that his ancestors' statues would receive in their memorial cults. Bommas (2013: 99) suggests four key elements to the ritual of the reigning king; they must take place every morning with the king as the receiver of the ritual, and renew the connection of the king with the divine to reinforce his legitimate and capable right to rule.

¹⁵¹ Titles relating to memorial cults of the living king can be found in app. 12, for example T05T15-T05T16. Furthermore, Shirai's study of royal memorial cults in the Old Kingdom demonstrates that cults of each king are often attested both during the lifetime of that king and after his death (Shirai 2005); he notes (2005: 151), for example, that the cult of Khufu was attested from the reign of Khufu himself until the end of the Old Kingdom. Malek (2000) looks at the same cults in the Middle Kingdom, noting the revival of several Old Kingdom cults in this period, although on a smaller scale than their earlier incarnations. Such studies show that the blurred line between the living and the dead king was evident long before the Eighteenth Dynasty.

legitimacy through linking the pharaoh with important ideas and symbols from the past, as well as with royal ancestors and periods of prosperity.

CHAPTER 2. MEMORY AND WRITING

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The starting point for this study will be a discussion of written evidence; while not all societies are literate, those that are use texts as a key method to retain memory. Assmann (2006: 24-25) puts texts at the centre of cultural memory,¹ emphasising the key role that the written word plays in its retention and development. So much of history, religion and culture is maintained through writing that it provides a suitable starting point for an examination of memory.

2.1.1. GRAFFITI AS THE FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

A large proportion of ancient Egyptian writing in memorial contexts is closely linked with depictions. Baines (2008: 99) states that ‘writing is intrinsic to Egyptian pictorial art’, which shows the close relationship between the two. Tomb and temple depictions are flanked by texts which form a part of the composition rather than being seen as a separate entity.² It is, therefore, difficult to find a cohesive corpus of Egyptian writing that fits the parameters of this study but is not part of a larger, pictorial composition. For this reason graffiti has been chosen; while many of them occur on royal memorial monuments, they were created by individuals on private visits and so are not at odds with the parameters of this study. There are also some graffiti which occur in private memorial contexts, and this allows further discussion and comparison of the two.

¹ He writes that ‘in written cultures, handed-down meaning, translated into symbolic form, swells into vast archives’ and, furthermore, that ‘with cultural memory, the memory spaces of many thousands of years open up, and it is writing that plays the decisive role in this process’ (Assmann 2006: 24, 28)

² The relationship between art and text is discussed in more detail in ch. 3.1.2.

Unlike monumental inscriptions found on state complexes, which relay the ideals and ideology of the state, graffiti are not necessarily constrained by the same limitations. They were added by Egyptian men³ who had come to view the splendour of royal memorial complexes.⁴ Part of a graffito at the memorial temple of Sahura at Abusir captures this sense of wonder:

Coming of the scribe Amenemhat ... to see this temple ... He found it beautiful in his heart, it was very great in his eyes like heaven, made bright (by) the moon (G08M16).⁵

Of course, these graffiti are more than simply statements of awe; they represent many important aspects of the Egyptian view of the past and in particular of royal ancestors. The simple existence of these texts shows the important role that both memorial monuments and the individuals who built them played in the lives of at least a section of Egyptian society in the Eighteenth Dynasty. From this beginning it is possible to analyse several aspects of the

³ It should be noted that all of the graffiti found at Memorial complexes in the Eighteenth Dynasty are by men, although whether this shows that men were the primary visitors at such sites or whether it is indicative of the higher levels of literacy among men is uncertain. Interestingly, one graffito makes it clear that the scribe regards women's writing ability as markedly inferior to that of men: 'my heart is distressed when I come to see the work of their hands. It is not [...] excellent in front of, it is like a maidservant, a woman, a wife who does not [know about] it as their thought does not exist' (G00M34). Robins (1993: 111-113) discusses some instances of the title *sšt* in the Middle Kingdom (see also Ward (1982: 16-17)) and a female with the title *sš shmt* in the Late Period (see Graefe (1981: 41-42)) which may be evidence of the existence of female scribes; she notes, however, that there is debate about whether this title was really that of a female scribe or if it was, in fact, a shortening of '*sšt nt rs*' which can be translated as 'cosmetician' (see Ward (1982: 17)), thus casting some doubt on the existence of these 'female scribes'. Equally Bryan (1984: 19-25) notes five New Kingdom tomb scenes in which a scribal kit is included under the chair of a woman; Robins (1993: 113) here notes that in every case except one the woman sits with a man and so it is possible that the scribal kit belonged to the male in the picture and was placed under the chair of the woman simply for aesthetic reasons, although Bryan (1984: 19-20) is confident that the kits belonged to the women, noting that two of these women are depicted more than once with such kits. It must be concluded, therefore, that there may have been some female scribes in ancient Egypt and possibly some in the New Kingdom, although the title *sšt* itself is not found in this period, but they were very few in number and it cannot be said with any certainty that they would have been a part of the official bureaucracy. Indeed Ward (1986) suggests that female scribes may have been employed as 'secretaries to aristocratic women'. See also Baines and Eyre (1983: 81-85).

⁴ Other motivations for visiting the monuments are discussed in this chapter.

⁵ See app. 1 for the full text.

texts to draw conclusions about the attitude of Egyptian people towards past kings; the frequent occurrence of specific phrases such as ‘he found it beautiful’⁶ suggests that a degree of standardisation (exerted either by individuals, by society or by the state) may have led graffitists to follow prescribed forms,⁷ while the correct identification of the owners of monuments implies an interest in the history of Egypt. One text even derides the other graffiti and criticises those who deface the monument, claiming, amongst other things, that:

My heart is distressed when I come to see the work of their hands (G00M34).⁸

Here, an element of interaction between scribes is evidenced, as is a form of competition between graffitists. Each graffito was not created in isolation but in the context both of the monument and of existing graffiti. As such they offer a vital insight into the ideas and thoughts of Egyptian people as well as helping understanding of the complexities of the society and state in which they lived.

All of these reasons make graffiti both a practical and a suitable form of evidence on which to base discussion; it allows examination of a range of issues relating to memory in Egyptian society, the role of royal ancestors and the development of identity.

2.1.2. DEFINING ‘GRAFFITI’

The term ‘graffiti’ is a contentious one.⁹ Modern interpretations of graffiti echo this varied nature, although there is some emphasis on it being outside of official control; Seigl, for

⁶ Found, for example, in G08M16 and G00M33.

⁷ This may be linked to a level of state control of the practice, as is discussed in more detail below, ch. 2.1.3.

⁸ This refers to the other graffiti found in the same monument.

example, refers to 'graffiti' as an 'umbrella term' which relates primarily to unsolicited and anonymous additions to public surfaces.¹⁰ This emphasises graffiti as a political statement, placed in areas of public administration and thus undermining central control. Despite its apparent accuracy with regards to modern graffiti, this definition cannot be applied to Egyptian graffiti which, although being found primarily in public areas, were usually signed by the graffitist, and although it may have been 'unsolicited'¹¹ it does not seem to have carried the same subversive element suggested by Siegl's definition.¹²

One is left, therefore, with definitions of ancient graffiti, which more accurately portray the nature of the Egyptian corpus. The large amounts of graffiti found at Pompeii have at times caused understanding to become somewhat skewed, with a belief that graffiti 'allow an unmediated contact with the writer [and] that they were made by the lower classes' (Baird and Taylor 2011: 2). This is, however, not always the case and it is important to study all graffiti on their own merits.

Other approaches have been taken to defining the practice. Thissen (1977: 880) places emphasis on the means by which texts are created, as opposed to examining the wider social context; he draws a distinction between 'graffiti', which are incised, and 'dipinti', which are painted or inked,¹³ and suggests that 'graffiti' in the classical world should refer only to the

⁹ See, for example, Baird and Taylor (2011: 3-7), Peden (2001: xix-xx).

¹⁰ See Siegl (2010) in which he writes 'ein Oberbegriff für viele thematisch und gestalterisch unterschiedliche Erscheinungsformen. Die Gemeinsamkeit besteht darin, dass es sich um visuell wahrnehmbare Elemente handelt, welche ,ungefragt' und meist anonym, von Einzelpersonen oder Gruppen auf fremden oder in öffentlicher Verwaltung befindlichen Oberflächen angebracht werden'. This roughly translates as 'an umbrella term for many thematically and artistically different manifestations. Their common factor is that they are visual elements which are unsolicited and primarily anonymous, and are created by individuals or groups on third party or public surfaces'.

¹¹ I.e. not a part of the decoration as requested by the owner and carried out in an official capacity by the artisans.

¹² The nature of graffiti as 'unsolicited' and subversive are discussed further in this section and ch. 2.1.3.

¹³ He writes 'in der Epigraphik und der klassischen Archäologie bezeichnet man mit Graffiti eingeritzte Inschriften, z. B. auf Vasen oder auf Wänden, im Unterscheid zu aufgemalten oder Tuschinschriften, Dipinti

former. Baird and Taylor (2011: 3) disagree, however, suggesting that ‘graffiti themselves can be made by a number of means ...: these include inscribing, using charcoal, ink or paint’, thus classifying graffiti as encompassing inscription, inking and dipinti. Thissen’s definition seems unnecessarily narrow, focussing on the literal translation of the word rather than the developing practice in the ancient world.¹⁴ Its disregard for the social context of the text also gives it limited use; this study, therefore, will use a definition more akin to that of Baird and Taylor, who write that ‘apart from shining a light on the tools used, the way in which a mark is produced ... is not the singular means, nor necessarily the most useful criterion, with which to define the practice’ (Baird and Taylor 2011: 3).

It is equally difficult to define graffiti based on where they are found; Thissen goes on to call Egypt ‘das klassische Land der Graffiti’¹⁵ following the work of Rehm and Klaffenbach,¹⁶ and notes that they can be found, among other places, on temple walls and roofs,¹⁷ on rock walls¹⁸ and in tombs¹⁹ (Thissen 1977: 880). This demonstrates the wide range of spaces on which Egyptian graffiti appears. Graffiti in the Greek and Roman spheres, which occur both in domestic and ritual contexts, have been described as ‘texts which appear in unexpected places’²⁰ but this relies far too much on modern interpretations of what is ‘unexpected’ and so cannot be seen as a satisfactory definition. Perhaps, then, viewing graffiti as a discrete group

genannt’ This may be translated as ‘in epigraphy and classical archaeology incised inscriptions are called graffiti, for example on vases or on walls, in contrast to the painted or ink inscriptions called Dipinti’.

¹⁴ Baird and Taylor (2011: 3, n. 4), for example, suggest that the distinction between dipinti and other forms of ‘graffiti’ are useful in certain contexts, for example Pompeii, but are not relevant outside of this.

¹⁵ ‘The classical land of graffiti’.

¹⁶ See Rehm and Klaffenbach (1969: 367 no. 362).

¹⁷ See, for example, the graffiti on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Jacquet-Gordon 2003) as well the examples cited in this study.

¹⁸ As discussed by Mairs (2011) in relation to the rock inscriptions at el-Kanais.

¹⁹ Again, see examples cited in this study (as found in Theban tombs such as TT60 and TT504).

²⁰ See also Chaniotis (2011: 193-196) and Langner (2001: 12) who writes that ‘Unter Graffitozeichnung wird hier jede Ritzzeichnung an einem scheinbar beliebigen, dafür primär nicht vorgesehenen Ort (wie Häuserwänden, Säulenschäften, Sitzbänken und Stufen etc.) verstanden’, again focussing on the fact that the drawing, in this case, is not in a designated location.

is misleading; if this is the case then each study of graffiti must come to its own conclusion on how it should define the genre.

With this in mind it is important to look at another key term which may be more relevant to this study, ‘Besucherinschriften’ (‘visitors’ inscriptions’).²¹ This emphasises the context in which the texts were created, which relates to the intention of the writer to record a visit to a specific monument. As the intention of this chapter is to look at graffiti which marked visits to royal and private monuments, the texts discussed here fall into the category of Besucherinschriften. This term, therefore, offers a definition for this study, based more on the location and purpose of the inscription than on the mode of writing. This term, however, is used primarily in Egyptology and so, to retain a wider relevance, this study will refer to the texts as ‘graffiti’.

Taking into account the issues outlined above, ‘graffiti’ in the context of this study will be defined based primarily on the location of the text and on the social context in which they were created. The mode of writing will be of interest but will not be used as a defining factor. As this study is only interested in evidence found in memorial contexts, the positioning of the text will be restricted to areas which fulfil this category. Graffiti will be identified in both

²¹ These are defined as ‘Besucherinschriften sind Sekundärinschriften, die von Passanten auf Bauwerken hinterlassen werden, um von dem Aufenthalt am betreffenden Ort zu künden. Im engeren Sinn bezeichnet man mit B. Texte, die ein Bauwerk oder Denkmal als hauptsächliches Objekt eines Besuches nennen. Damit unterscheiden sich die B. von Votivinschriften (dazu die Dach- und Pflasterinschriften in allen Tempeln), die sich primär an Götter wenden, z.B. ... Sachmet des Sahure ..., von ‘*en passant*’-Inschriften an wichtigen Wegstationen (Assuan und Sehel ...). in Steinbruchgebieten (Sinai, Wadi Hammamat ...) und Randgebieten großer Siedlungen (z.B. thebanische Berge), sowie von Restaurations-inschriften (z.B. des Chaemwase)’ (Wildung 1972: 766) (‘Visitor inscriptions are secondary inscriptions left by passers-by on buildings, to tell of their stay at this location. In a narrower sense, ‘Besucherinschriften’ is denoted by texts that mention a building or monument as the primary object of a visit. So, the examples of votive inscriptions differ (such as the roofing and paving inscriptions in temples), the main contactable gods e.g. ... Sekhmet of Sahura ..., of ‘*en passant*’ inscriptions at important way-stations (Sehel in Aswan ...), in quarry areas (Sinai, Wadi-Hammamat ...) and areas surrounding large settlements (e.g. the Theban mountains), and restoration inscriptions (e.g. Khaemwase)’).

public and private areas of memorial structures²² and, as noted above, the method of writing will not be restricted.²³ The content of the graffiti will not be limited as this will be the primary focus of study; to limit the content of the texts would skew any results. As the aim of this chapter is to discuss writing, the focus will be on textual as opposed to pictorial graffiti, although it should be noted that only a small number of pictorial graffiti have been found from the relevant period at the sites studied.²⁴ The term ‘graffiti’ will, therefore, refer to all texts which have been added to a memorial structure by someone who was not the owner or which were not part of the original decoration, regardless of their content or the method used to create them.²⁵ The employment of a person by the owner of the monument does not exclude him creating ‘graffiti’ if the text was not a part of the decoration requested by the owner.²⁶

2.1.3. UNDERSTANDING ANCIENT GRAFFITI

As already noted, is important to remember that the term ‘graffiti’ should not be construed in the same way in antiquity as in the modern world. Baird and Taylor (2011: 1) note that graffiti

²² It should be noted that the majority of graffiti occurs in public areas of monuments, as is to be expected given the nature of the graffiti as texts left by visitors to the sites. However, graffiti in private areas of monuments are not unheard of, for example the texts of the restorers of monuments such as those of Maya and Djehutymose in KV43 (G14T23, G14T24). Pictorial graffiti are also found in the subterranean chambers of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III; Arnold (2002: 42) notes these examples, dismissing the hypothesis that they were left by the builders of the monuments and suggesting, instead, that they were left by intruders who entered the chambers at a later date. Pictorial graffiti will not, however, be discussed in this chapter.

²³ In the corpus relating to this study all of the graffiti are, in fact, inked.

²⁴ One is the pictorial graffiti found in TT504 in which several erotic scenes can be seen (see Romer (1982: 157-160), Wente (1984: 51-54) for discussion of these graffiti which are thought to depict Hatshepsut and Senenmut). A small number of pictorial graffiti have also been identified in the memorial complex of Sneferu; Griffith (1892: 40-41) dates some of the graffiti, which consist of three birds (two clearly hawks with a sun disk on the head) to the reign of Thutmose III and another to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but does not give any reason for this dating.

²⁵ The term ‘original decoration’ should be taken to include any additions that were made to the monuments either by official request or because of the usurping of a tomb at a later date.

²⁶ The ‘owner’ should be taken as meaning the person who commissioned the work or a person acting on his/her behalf. An example of graffiti being created by a person who was employed by the owner of the monument can be found in KV43 where two graffiti have been left by the men who were employed to restore the tomb after damage by tomb robbers (G14T23, G14T24).

are often used as evidence of less educated or even subversive elements in ancient societies. However, studies of graffiti in several locations have suggested a very different understanding, and it would seem that the line between graffiti and other, more formal, texts is often somewhat undefined (Baird and Taylor 2011: 6). Of course, that is not to say that some graffiti were not subversive or dissenting (such as some of the Roman graffiti discussed by Zadorojnyi (2011: 125)),²⁷ but that the term ‘graffiti’ must not be taken as implying this until the context is known. Furthermore, in some situations graffiti may be seen not only as non-subversive, but as being created *by* the state; Baird (2011: 56-58), for example, discusses graffiti found all over the city of Dura-Europos including on gates, walls, houses and temples, and argues that they were used by the military to ‘take possession of particular spaces’. She suggests that examples on the gates and other military structures were inscribed by soldiers on duty. These soldiers were not dissenting citizens but were representatives of the authorities; the fact that they clearly identify themselves and took time to prepare the walls and write the inscriptions suggests that the practice was sanctioned by the authorities (Baird 2011: 58).²⁸ Much of the Egyptian graffiti included in this study is signed by the writer;²⁹ perhaps, then, it should be understood in the same way, as a state acknowledged, or even sponsored, practice. Zadorojnyi (2011: 100), however, disagrees, arguing that ‘graffiti represent a trajectory of dissent even if their overall message is not overly politicised; to sabotage the established

²⁷ He discusses (2011: 124), for example, the writings of Plutarch, who notes that ‘those who desired the revolution viewed him [Brutus] as their only or their best hope. They did not dare to talk to him openly, but at night they left messages all over the rostra and the seat on which he conducted his duties as praetor’. Most of these said, ‘You’re asleep Brutus!’ and ‘You are no Brutus’ (see Zadorojnyi (2011: 125) who notes the work of Dio Cassius, *Roman History*: 44.12.43 (see Cary 1916).

²⁸ Compare, for example, to Jacquet-Gordon’s discussion of the graffiti on the roof of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak; she notes that, far from being the work of subversive or transient groups, these graffiti were created by the men who held ritual positions within the temple, with over ninety being recorded as *wꜥb*, and thirty-five having the title of God’s Father of Khonsu or Amun, as well as prophets and scribes of the two gods and other titles which relate to ritual positions within the Khonsu Temple (Jacquet-Gordon 2003: 3-5). She writes that these men were of humble origins and could not afford to have statues placed in the temple precinct as was the practice among the elite, and so they ‘seized the opportunity of leaving their names on the roof slabs in lieu of statues, and added their footprints as a kind of substitute for themselves so that they would remain forever ... in the presence of their god and under his protection’ (Jacquet-Gordon 2003: 5). The idea of protection will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

²⁹ One example is G00T02, which begins, ‘The scribe Bak (came) to see the tomb’.

ownership of a space is a political enterprise already'. Admittedly, there is no explicit evidence that ancient states encouraged the practice, and graffiti does subtly alter the sense of ownership of the monument by adding another element to it. Would this have been encouraged by the state? Perhaps, but it cannot be known for certain. It is, therefore, important to approach ancient graffiti with an open mind; the key to understanding it lies in its context as well as in its content, and so both must be acknowledged.

2.1.4. GRAFFITI IN ANCIENT EGYPT

2.1.4.1. LITERACY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Before continuing with an analysis of graffiti, it is necessary to discuss the level of literacy in ancient Egypt. There is no consensus on the percentage of literate adults in the New Kingdom and several theories have been put forward, but it is likely that the number of fully literate persons was not high.³⁰ Studies have, however, pointed out varying possible degrees of literacy (or 'semi-literacy'), ranging from the skill to read and write full texts to an ability to understand basic signs.³¹ This suggests that those who were not able to write their own graffiti may still have been able to access meaning, and possibly some of those who wrote basic signs were not skilled enough in reading to understand other texts fully. While the people who wrote graffiti were clearly able to write, one cannot be so sure about the people who saw it; they have not left a record of their visit and so one cannot know their social

³⁰ See Baines (1983: 584-586), Lazaridis (2010: 6), Der Manuelian (1999: 285), L. Lesko (1990: 656-657).

³¹ Baines (1983: 584), for example, writes that, 'Several levels of literacy are possible: reading, of various degrees of competence; reading and the physical ability to write; reading and narrow composing ability ...; reading and the full ability to compose texts; and ... the carving of signs with limited reading ability'. Harris (1991: 5-6), furthermore, writes that the difficulty of assessing literacy in the ancient world is increased by the complexities of terminology for 'illiteracy'; Greek and Latin terms suggest a both a lack of reading or writing ability, but also an absence of culture. Primary sources which may enlighten modern scholars on the levels of literacy in such cultures are, therefore, ambiguous (whilst also emphasising the ancient connection between literacy and culture).

background or literacy.³² Texts may have been accessible to a larger proportion of the population than studies of full literacy suggest, and even those whose literacy was minimal may have been able to recognise common symbols like cartouches.³³

Did it, therefore, matter if people could not understand the whole text? Bryan (1996) examines the ways in which images may be understood by different individuals in different ways depending on how they interpret the context of the scene and the texts accompanying it,³⁴ and Der Manuelian (1999: 285) suggests that the understanding of any scene is affected by the viewer's level of literacy.³⁵ He does not, however, suggest that the meaning is diminished for those who cannot understand the whole, but simply that the meaning may be different. Although the examples discussed in this chapter are solely textual and not pictorial, the nature of the texts and their inclusion of common phrases, cartouches and epithets raises the question of whether low literacy would prevent an individual from accessing any meaning or whether it would simply alter the perception of the corpus. Commonly used signs and motifs may have been recognisable even to those with little or no literacy, in particular royal iconography such as cartouches which are found frequently in the texts examined in this

³² One should not dismiss the importance of 'intermediaries' as individuals who could provide access to written forms for those who were illiterate, either by reading aloud or by writing texts given to them in oral form (see, for example, Harris (1991: 34)). Harris (1991: 86) notes, for example, that the main way people in early Greece were able to access literature was through oral forms.

³³ As Small (1997: 3) writes, even if one cannot read the words, one can still see them. She takes the analysis of writing a step further, looking not only at what was written but at how scribes physically researched and created their writing, and the ways in which this may have affected understanding of texts (Small 1997: 141-201); here, writing is viewed not only a literature but as an archaeological object. Harris (1991: 5), however, notes that there is no reason to assume that the numbers of semi-literate individuals (in this instance those who could read competently but not write) was high in his analysis of literacy in ancient Greece and Rome; without dismissing the importance of semi-literacy, therefore, one should not assume that it incorporated a large section of society. Livingstone (2011: 36) also warns against assuming that those who were literate would have been able to read texts without effort; he suggests that the act of reading, in this instance in early Greece, would have been a painstaking task 'whose payoff was the words themselves'. Although the focus here is on Greece, it raises the important point that one cannot presume to understand literacy in the same way that one might understand it today; one must be aware of the fluid boundaries between what today might be defined as 'literate' and 'illiterate'.

³⁴ She writes (1996: 161) that 'although in most cases inscriptions are read in concert with the objects on which they are placed, if they are considered separately it may be possible to identify two distinct messages comprehended by different audiences'. The interaction of text and image is discussed in more detail in ch. 3.1.2.

³⁵ I.e. whether he or she can understand the varying texts that accompany the scene.

study.³⁶ It is these recognisable symbols of kingship that would have made graffiti accessible even to illiterate members of Egyptian society. One should not, therefore, draw a clear distinction between those who could and those who could not understand the content of the graffiti left on memorial monuments; instead, different levels of understanding must be recognised.

2.1.4.2. THE GRAFFITI OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

This study looks at Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti which are found in a memorial context; they are either found on the memorial monument of a deceased royal individual or in a private memorial context but names one or more royal ancestor. Such examples are found primarily in the Memphite region³⁷ although a small number of examples can also be located at Thebes. No relevant graffiti have been identified at Amarna, presumably because of the lack of royal or private memorial monuments at the sites during its short period of use. Many examples are badly damaged or have disappeared completely leaving the researcher to rely on tracings or transcriptions (or in some cases even translations) given by early excavators; this makes dating graffiti and quantification of the frequency of certain phrases or terms very difficult. This study will, therefore, focus on the graffiti which has been recorded and dated with at least reasonable certainty to the Eighteenth Dynasty³⁸ at a number of sites at Memphis and

³⁶ Bryan (1996: 161) writes that ‘even the illiterate, then, if they resided near cult centres, must have known some royal and divine iconography’ and notes that even if texts such as royal names were not actually readable to some people, they would still be recognisable as ‘iconographies of king and divinity’ and viewers would have some understanding of ‘the meaning of their placement and gestures’.

³⁷ Under the term ‘Memphite region’ this study will include those sites which are found in the general vicinity of Memphis even if they are not regarded as official Memphite cemeteries; it will, therefore, include Saqqara, Dahshur, Meidum and Abusir (other sites may also be included in this category but are not relevant to this discussion).




³⁸ Some graffiti include specific regnal dates or references which allow definitive dating, while that of others is based on the formation of specific signs or proximity to other, dateable, graffiti as well as the analysis of the style of the writing (see Navrátilová (2007) for explanations of specific datings). Although not infallible this offers an acceptable probability of accuracy whilst allowing for the inclusion of the maximum number of

Thebes including damaged graffiti, although those graffiti for which no discernible phrases can be ascertained will not be included in the corpus.³⁹ Any statistical data based on the graffiti can only take into account those texts, and parts of texts, which have survived; while, therefore, providing interesting insights into the corpus as a whole, they should be treated as guides.⁴⁰ The surviving texts, however, cover a wide range of themes and dates and so it is unlikely that any of the conclusions drawn here would be substantially altered by the inclusion of omitted graffiti or by the unreadable sections within the corpus. In total, thirty-nine graffiti have been identified as can be seen in app. 1.⁴¹

2.1.4.3. GRAFFITI FROM EARLIER PERIODS

The earliest example in the corpus dates to the reign of Amenhotep I and is found at the South Chapel of Djoser at Saqqara (G02M03). This shows that there was an interest in royal memorial monuments and the royal ancestors who built them from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, a small number of earlier graffiti relating to deceased pharaohs can also be found which shows that such texts were not a new phenomenon in the New Kingdom. Some Middle Kingdom graffiti are located, for example, in the memorial temple at

possible graffiti. App. 2, which gives the locations of the graffiti organised by date, totals the number of texts found dated to each reign. As can be seen, the largest number of texts are found in the reign of Thutmose III, although the high number of undated texts make it difficult to draw any conclusions from this.

³⁹ See, for example, Navrátilová (2007: 42) which includes two such graffiti; one reads  while the other signs can be identified as  . In these cases there is no discernible benefit from including the graffiti in the corpus as no attempt to translate any part of the text (beyond, perhaps suggesting the existence of a dating formula in the first example) is possible.

⁴⁰ Where statistical analysis is included, for example in giving the number of occurrences of a particular phrase or idea, the reader is advised to treat it with caution, as damage to graffiti in the corpus may affect the results.

⁴¹ The graffiti included in this study are those which can be dated with reasonable certainty to the Eighteenth Dynasty and so graffiti that date to the 'New Kingdom' have not been included. The numerous graffiti at the temple of Thutmose III, for example, have not been included as the majority are dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, despite the lack of confirmed dating (see Marciniak (1974: 37-42) for details). Further graffiti have been noted in the subterranean rooms of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur but, again, the date of these graffiti is uncertain and is likely to be post-Eighteenth Dynasty (although it is possible that they may have been earlier) (see Arnold (2002: 42)); these have also not been included in the study. The many graffiti found in the locality of the Valley of the Kings (see Černý et al. (1969-1970), Spiegelberg (1921)) have not been included in the catalogue due to the difficulties in securely dating any to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Sneferu's Meidum pyramid; these are likely to have been written either by visitors to the monument or by personnel of the cult of Sneferu (Peden 2001: 27), for example:

‘The one who is beautiful’⁴² is the name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sneferu (Petrie 1892: pl. xxxii[i]).⁴³

There are further examples at Thebes, in the Valley of the Royal Cache close to the temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep;⁴⁴ again, these examples were probably written by personnel in the memorial cult of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep or of Sankhara Mentuhotep (Peden 2001: 30).


Although the majority of these texts simply record the name of the graffitist, one reads:

a) The *w^cb* Neferabed(et).

b) Giving praise to Amun, kissing the ground before the lord of the gods at his festival, [in] the first of Shemu, [when] he appears on the day of the rowing across to the Valley of Nebhepetra. By the *w^cb* of Amun, Neferabed⁴⁵ (Spiegelberg 1921: 968).⁴⁶

Perhaps, then, interest in deceased kings in the Middle Kingdom was primarily caused by holding a position within a memorial cult and by the related activities.⁴⁷ Wildung (1969: 128-

⁴² Wildung (1969: 118) translates this as ‘the one who is complete’ (‘Der, der vollkommen ist’), while Griffith (1892: 40) translates this as ‘thrice beautiful is the name of King Seneferu’.

⁴³ The relevant part of the text reads  (‘*wn.n nfrw rn n nsw-bit Snfrw*’). See Petrie (1892: pl. xxxii) for other examples.

⁴⁴ See Kurz (1974: 190-193) for the location of graffiti in this area.

⁴⁵ See also Peden 2001: 31.

⁴⁶ a) *w^cb Nfr-3bd(t)*. b) *rdit iw n’Imn sn-t3 n nb ntrw m hb.f[n] tpy šmw wbn.f hr n hn r int Nb-hpr-R^c in w^cb’Imn Nfr-3bd*.

⁴⁷ The importance of active remembering is looked at in ch. 4. Note the mention of a festival linked with Nebhepetra in this graffito. It is possible that this is an early reference to the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (see Peden (2001: 31-32) for discussion of this suggestion), which celebrated, amongst other things, the memory of deceased pharaohs (this will be discussed in more detail in 4.4.1).

138), however, cites graffiti from Sinai which mention the name of Sneferu and were created not by members of his memorial cult but men on mining expeditions. Further graffiti can be seen at the sites of Deir el-Bersha and Sheik Said, left by the local nomarch Djehutinakht, which marks the tombs of prominent individuals; while not royalty, they were local nomarchs and, so, held an official role in the local area. While, therefore, Middle Kingdom graffiti can often be linked with a position in a royal memorial cult,⁴⁸ it cannot be seen as the only explanation for such interest.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty there is clear evidence of a more widespread interest in deceased kings which can be seen in the creation of graffiti at ancient monuments by people other than memorial cult personnel, particularly by those who denote themselves ‘scribes’.⁴⁹ The graffiti from this period may, therefore, be seen as a development of a Middle Kingdom practice rather than as an entirely new phenomenon.

2.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE EVIDENCE

As already noted, the graffiti are found at sites in the Memphite and Theban regions dating from the reign of Amenhotep I to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty:⁵⁰

- Seven are at the sun temple of Userkhaf at Abusir;⁵¹ one has been dated to the reign of Thutmose III,⁵² but the rest have not been assigned to a specific reign.⁵³

⁴⁸ Wildung (2003: 76) notes ‘direct references to the priesthoods of Schepseskaf, Neferir-ka-Ra, Djed-ka-Ra, Teti and Pepi II’ in the Middle Kingdom.

⁴⁹ The frequency of the term ‘scribe’ will be discussed below (see 2.3.1).

⁵⁰ See app. 2 for a summary of the locations and dates of graffiti.

⁵¹ G05M06, G00M27-G00M32. It should be noted that the Sun Temple of Userkhaf is not a memorial complex in the way that the other sites in the corpus are, but the close connection of sun temples with the memorial complex of the king merits its inclusion in this study. Arnold (2009: 234), for example, writes that ‘these

- Two are at the memorial temple of Sahura at Abusir, both dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁴
- Nineteen pieces of graffiti are in the pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara; three are in the North Chapel,⁵⁵ while sixteen occur in the South Chapel.⁵⁶ The dates range from the reign of Amenhotep I to Tutankhamun.
- Four texts are at the memorial temple of Sneferu at Meidum;⁵⁷ they date from the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.
- One text is in the memorial complex of Pepi II, also at Saqqara, dated simply to the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁸
- Six graffiti have been identified in the Theban necropolis; the first three are in TT60 and are not dated to a specific reign,⁵⁹ two are located in KV43 and date to the reign of Horemheb,⁶⁰ while the sixth is in TT504 and dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶¹

sanctuaries were dedicated not only to the sun god but also to the ‘Son of Re’, i.e. the king, united with his father after death, thereby bringing about a close connection with the pyramid precinct nearby’. Badawy (1954: 143) also writes that ‘the kings of the Vth dynasty bring the cult of Re’ to its apex and their architectural activity is accordingly directed to the building of sun-temples ... Their pyramids are built on a comparatively smaller scale’, implying that the sun temples in some ways took over from pyramids in this period as the lasting monument of the king. Although this does not negate the importance of the pyramid complexes as sites of memory (such as the Pyramid Complex of Sahura included in this study) it seems pertinent to include sun temples as well.

⁵² G05M06.

⁵³ A further five graffiti which date to the Eighteenth Dynasty have been identified at this site by Navrátilová (2007: 38, 41-42, 44) (numbered M.1.5.S.18.6, M.1.5.S.18.8, M.1.5.S.18.9, M.1.5.S.18.10, M.1.5.S.18.12) but these have not survived in sufficient condition to allow for any analysis of their contents and so have not been included in the corpus.

⁵⁴ G05M07 has been dated to the reign of Thutmose III (Navrátilová 2007: 49), while G08M16 was possibly written during the reign of either Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV (Megally 1981: 224, 230). A third text dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty has been identified at this site by Navrátilová (2007: 54) but, again, the damage to the text prevents any analysis of the contents and so it has been excluded from the corpus.

⁵⁵ G05M08, G12M21, G00M33.

⁵⁶ G02M03, G03M04, G04M05, G05M09-G05M11, G06M14, G07M15, G09M17, G10M20, G12M22, G00M34-G00M38.

⁵⁷ G05M12, G05M13, G09M18, G09M19. Petrie (1892: pls. xxiv-xxvi) has included several more graffiti which he dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but without any explanation of why he dates them to this period, or indeed where they appear on the monument. In the absence of more thorough epigraphic study, or even the opportunity to analyse the comparative positions of the texts, it has been decided to exclude those graffiti that do not include a date in their text which explicitly places them within the period in question.

⁵⁸ G00M26.

⁵⁹ G00T01, G00T02, G00T39.

⁶⁰ G14T23, G14T24.

⁶¹ G00T25.

A large number of graffiti are also found at the Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur;⁶² these graffiti, however, have not been published in full and it has not been possible to access the texts at this time.⁶³ As only a small number have currently been published in any form and only one in such a way as to allow any real analysis of its content,⁶⁴ these graffiti would prove to be a fragmented and unsatisfactory addition to the catalogue. For this reason these graffiti are not included in the corpus, although their importance as examples of graffiti on the monument of a Middle Kingdom King should be acknowledged. A second group of graffiti occur in TT319 at Thebes but, again, they are not accessible and have not been published,⁶⁵ and so are not included in this study. Peden (2001: 72) dates the graffiti to the Eighteenth Dynasty and writes that they record the names and titles of visitors; he notes that most of the individuals call themselves ‘scribes’, and so they seem to follow the basic information given in many of the other texts that have been included in the corpus.

As seen in app. 2, almost half of the graffiti come from the complex of Djoser at Saqqara. The sun temple of Userkhaf has the next highest frequency with seven, while all of the other sites have five or less texts in the corpus. While it is possible that Djoser’s complex held a particular fascination for visitors, the damage to sites and the omission of certain damaged graffiti from the corpus⁶⁶ means that the percentages of texts may not always have been so skewed in favour of Djoser’s monuments. It is, however, also possible that the existence of

⁶² See, for example, Allen (2005), Navrátilová (2006: 103-107), Peden (2001: 64). The graffiti at this site are currently being prepared for publication by Navrátilová.

⁶³ Navrátilová (2006) notes that there are 230 graffiti identified at this monument and that more may yet be found.

⁶⁴ Navrátilová (2006: 103-107).

⁶⁵ Porter and Moss note seventeen hieratic graffiti which date to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (PM I.I: 392). See also Peden (2001: 71-72), Winlock (1926: 12-13).

⁶⁶ As discussed previously, see 2.1.4.2 and 2.2.

graffiti at monuments encouraged visitors to add their own, causing clusters of graffiti at certain sites.⁶⁷

2.3. THE MEMPHITE GRAFFITI⁶⁸

As has been noted the Memphite graffiti comes from a range of sites, primarily related to Old Kingdom kings but not exclusively so, as those examples found at the pyramid complex of Senwosret III attest. The graffiti are written in ink in hieratic on the walls of monuments of deceased kings. The examples range from appeals lasting several lines⁶⁹ to two-word phrases⁷⁰ and several are badly damaged. There are, in total, thirty-three Memphite graffiti in the corpus, with more than half at the site of the Step Pyramid of Djoser.⁷¹ The earliest example dates from the reign of Amenhotep I and is found at the South Chapel of Djoser at Saqqara (G02M03) while the latest datable examples are from the reign of Tutankhamun (G12M22). Thirteen graffiti do not have a definite date within the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷² The texts fall into various categories based on the inclusion of specific themes, each of which will now be discussed.⁷³

⁶⁷ This will be discussed in more detail below, see ch. 2.3.2.1.

⁶⁸ As discussed above, this includes graffiti found in several sites in the Memphite region, even if they are not officially recognised as being in the 'Memphite necropolis'; the sites relevant to this corpus are the North and South Chapels of Djoser and the pyramid complex of Pepi II (at Saqqara, approximately 30km south of modern Cairo), the Sun Temple of Userkhaf and memorial temple of Sahura (at Abusir, several km north of Saqqara), and the Memorial temple of Sneferu (at Meidum, approximately 100km south of modern Cairo). While Saqqara and Abusir form part of the established Memphite necropolis, Meidum is less often included. However, the existence of several royal memorials at this site, including one of Sneferu who also had pyramids elsewhere in the Memphite necropolis, deems it worthy of inclusion in this study.

⁶⁹ For example G05M08.

⁷⁰ For example G00M28.

⁷¹ See app. 2. for details of the locations of the graffiti. They are found, as noted above, at: the sun temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (7); the memorial temple of Sahura, Abusir (2); the North Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (3); the South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (16); the pyramid complex of Pepi II, Saqqara (1); the memorial temple of Sneferu, Meidum (4).

⁷² These are prefixed with 'G00'.

⁷³ See app. 3 for details of which graffiti fall into each category.

2.3.1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHOR

Of the thirty-three Memphite graffiti, twenty clearly state the name of the author⁷⁴ while a further seven⁷⁵ include phrases which suggest that the name of the owner may have originally been part of the text.⁷⁶ This supports the earlier premise that Egyptian graffiti should not be understood as being necessarily subversive but that it was a recognised form of expression, at the very least allowed by the state and possibly even encouraged by it. If it were not, it is unlikely that graffitists would have identified themselves in their writing. One Memphite text, G08M16, gives the name of the graffitist and also that of his father;⁷⁷ this shows that the scribe saw his family genealogy as an important as a way of identifying himself,⁷⁸ but it also shows that graffiti were deemed important enough to warrant such detail and care. Surely graffitists would not take such pains to identify themselves correctly, and in the case of G08M16 to give his lineage, if these texts were not perceived as having some importance. Graffiti were intended to last for eternity alongside the monument on which they were written and, as such, to act as a memorial to each individual who recorded his name. They were, therefore, deserving of care and attention. It was also important to ensure that the name was

⁷⁴ G02M03, G03M04, G04M05, G05M06, G05M08, G05M09, G05M11, G05M12, G05M13, G06M14, G07M15, G08M16, G09M18, G12M21, G00M26, G00M27, G00M29, G00M34, G00M36, G00M37. See also app. 3.

⁷⁵ G05M07, G05M10, G10M20, G00M30, G00M31, G00M33, G00M35.

⁷⁶ As with all of the graffiti, it is highly possible that other texts may have also included this information but have become too damaged for it to be read. These figures, however, serve to demonstrate that the identification of the graffitist in the text was common.

⁷⁷ Line 2 of this text reads *'iwt pw ir.n sš Imn-m-h* t [...]'n-ti-mn-ti'* ('Coming of the scribe, Amenemhat, [son of the scribe(?)] Antimenti') (see app. 1 for details of this line, and for the understanding of the lacuna).

⁷⁸ The practice of identifying oneself through one's ancestors can be seen even in the highest levels of society, with kinglists like that of Thutmose III at Karnak (Prisse d'Avennes 1847: pl. i), thus emphasising his links with his predecessors. In private spheres a similar practice sometimes led to the inclusion of parents and even grandparents on monuments (for example, the block statue of Teti which dates to the reign of Thutmose III, British Museum EA888). Furthermore, a study of texts left by the nomarch Djehutinakht in tombs at Deir el-Bersha and Sheikh Said notes that he recorded his renewal of the tombs of several important individuals, none of whom are known to have been his direct ancestors, and referred to them as his 'fathers' (de Meyer 2005); this suggests that one of the roles of such genealogical texts was to legitimise the writer, regardless of whether or not the 'ancestors' recorded were actually related to the individual.

recorded in such a way as to identify the correct individual and to prevent his being confused with anyone else.

Twenty-five graffiti also note the profession⁷⁹ of the graffitist(s). In total ten different professions are recorded in the Memphite graffiti:⁸⁰

- *ꜥth* (brewer)
- *sš* (scribe)⁸¹
- *wꜥb* (wab)
- *hm-ntr* (hem-netjer)⁸²
- *hry-ꜥ* (assistant)
- *hry-hb* (hery-heb)
- ‘Priest’⁸³
- *whm nswt* (royal herald)
- *sbꜣ* (teacher)
- *nbyw n Imn* (goldsmith of Amun)
- *šḏ imww* (inspector of craftsmen)

The most commonly attested profession is ‘scribe’ which is found 23 times,⁸⁴ usually following the pattern, ‘Coming of the scribe Amenemhat, [son of the scribe] Antimenti’

⁷⁹ By ‘profession’ it is meant any title held by the graffitist which relates to a specific job or role. This chapter makes no distinction between honorary and practical titles (see ch. 4 for more discussion of this distinction).

⁸⁰ See app. 4 for details of how many instances are recorded of each profession at Memphis and at Thebes.

⁸¹ The majority of these individuals are referred to simply as ‘scribe’, but one includes more detail; *sš n hꜣy* (‘scribe of measuring’).

⁸² The occurrence of this title is not certain (see G00M36).

⁸³ This title is found in Černý’s translation of G00M35. As there is no copy of the original text remaining it is not possible to identify which type of ‘priest’ Černý was referring to and so this has been included as a separate category.



(G08M16). The phrasing of a further four suggests that the graffitist identified himself as a scribe even if the word has since been destroyed.⁸⁵

Apart from 'scribe' each profession is only included by one individual,⁸⁶ which suggests that the labelling of oneself as something other than a scribe was not particularly common. There are, however, some comments that should be made on this subject.

The first is to note that the majority of graffiti which include an alternative title do so alongside that of 'scribe',⁸⁷ although most felt no need to include another profession.

G05M08, for example, is written on behalf of two individuals; one is identified just as a 'scribe', while the primary author calls himself both a 'scribe' and a 'teacher'. Here there is a clear emphasis on the scribal title, despite the inclusion of 'teacher' alongside it. Exceptions can be found, however; G05M06 includes the title of 'scribe' for some individuals but also identifies others as 'brewers', 'assistants' and 'royal herald'. Here, therefore, although the title 'scribe' is included in the text it is not connected with every individual. The use of the scribal title is not, therefore, all encompassing, but it is generally given prominence over other titles. It is possible that the nature of the task, that of writing the graffiti, encouraged the authors to emphasise titles which emphasised this skill. This may have led to the common usage of 'scribe'.

⁸⁴ G02M03, G03M04, G04M05, G05M06 (three separate individuals), G05M08 (twice), G05M11, G05M12 ('scribe of measuring'), G05M13, G06M14, G07M15, G08M16, G09M18, G10M20, G12M21, G00M27, G00M29, G00M33, G00M34, G00M35, G00M37. There is a possible twenty-fourth occurrence in G00M30, as discussed below. Philips (1997: 4) also notes the high percentage of examples in which the writer is identified as a 'scribe'.

⁸⁵ See, for example, G05M07, and in particular Megally (1981: 222, 224-225), Navrátilová (2007: 49). Further note should be made of G00M30 for which the reading is uncertain: Helck (1965: 120) reads it as  while Navrátilová (2007: 37) remains undecided between this and .

⁸⁶ Other professions are recorded, for example, in G05M06, G05M08, G05M10, G00M26 and G00M30.

⁸⁷ An exception is G00M26. G05M10 probably originally contained the title 'scribe', although this is now lost.

But one should not assume that ‘scribe’ denotes a paid profession. Ragazzoli (2013: 11) suggests that it simply demonstrates the writer’s inclusion within the community of graffitists; it shows how these individuals ‘negotiate their belonging to a community, albeit the one created by the graffiti and the appropriated space’. As such, the title ‘scribe’ forms an important part of each person’s individual identity within the context of the community; the graffiti are not only representative of a community, they create it and help its members to develop a sense of individual identity within that community. If this were the case then it is only the instances in which a role other than that of ‘scribe’ is recorded that actually give the profession of the author. While those who define themselves as ‘scribes’ may have been employed as such, the inclusion of this title within the graffiti is not indicative of the fact but should be understood as a statement of identity in the cultural context of the graffiti-writers’ community.

There are five main themes in the graffiti at Memphis.⁸⁸ First are texts which identify the monument. Identification can include attributing the structure to a specific pharaoh or simply identifying the type of monument (such as a pyramid or temple). The second are texts which describe the monument in question beyond simply identifying it. The third are those which include a prayer or offering formula. The fourth are those in which the scribe portrays negative feelings, while the fifth are texts in which the writer focuses on the living king. Each category will now be looked at in turn.

⁸⁸ These are based on the themes suggested by Navrátilová (2006: 88-94).

2.3.2. GRAFFITI IDENTIFYING THE MONUMENT

Twelve texts in the Memphite region include the name of the owner of the monument,⁸⁹ for example:

[Coming of the scribe, son of the scribe] to see the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahura, true of voice (G05M07).

Eight of those which explicitly identify the owner of the monument are found in the chapels of Djoser at Saqqara,⁹⁰ two at the memorial temple of Sahura at Abusir,⁹¹ and two at the memorial temple of Sneferu at Meidum.⁹² Although the majority of texts which identify the monument are found in the south chapel of Djoser at Saqqara the existence of similar texts at other sites shows that it was not only linked to public knowledge of the Djoser complex.

There are two explanations for the inclusion of the name of the monument's builder in the graffiti: firstly, the graffitist may have copied the name from the monument itself, or from existing graffiti; secondly, the scribe may have had some knowledge of the owners of monuments in the Memphite necropolis, or at least of the particular monument that he was

⁸⁹ G02M03, G05M07, G05M08, G05M10, G05M13, G06M14, G08M16, G09M18, G12M21, G00M35, G00M36, G00M38. A further four texts identify the building even though it is not linked with a specific royal ancestor (G05M06, G07M15, G00M27, G00M34); an example is 'Coming of the scribe Teti [to see] the two temples of ... the builder' (G00M27). G00M33 includes the sign \square which may be a determinative; this would imply that the building was identified in the lacuna preceding the sign. As the identification of the building has been lost, however, it cannot be certain and so G00M33 has not been included in this category. Of course, the correct identification of the building as a temple does not prove any knowledge of the owner of the monument, but it does suggest some interest in identifying the monument on at least some level and it is possible that some graffiti, such as G00M27, did originally identify the owner even if it has since been destroyed. Texts which identify the type of monument but not the owner are discussed in more detail below, under the category of 'graffiti which describe the monument'.

⁹⁰ North chapel: G05M08, G12M21. South chapel: G02M03, G05M10, G06M14, G00M35, G00M36, G00M38.

⁹¹ G05M07, G08M16.

⁹² G05M13, G09M18.

visiting. This leads to the possibility that he targeted that specific monument because of his knowledge of its owner. Both of these possibilities will now be looked at.

2.3.2.1. COPYING OF EARLIER TEXTS

If the graffiti left on the walls of monuments were the result of copying then there are two likely sources; texts found on royal monuments in the area, and the graffiti left by earlier visitors. The occurrence of certain phrases may point to the copying of official texts on the monument itself, for example:

the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoserkara, son of Ra,
Amenhotep, who lives forever and ever (G02M03).⁹³

Royal inscriptions contained epithets such as the ones in this graffito, and would have been familiar to visitors to the Memphite sites. Statues of Djoser, for example, stood in his pyramid complex and included his name and epithets;⁹⁴ it is possible that visitors to the site saw objects such as these and copied what they saw there. Other royal inscriptions, such as the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II, also gave royal names and epithets which may have been copied by graffitists (Lichtheim 1976: 39-43).

Graffitists may also have copied from graffiti already at the site. Baird and Taylor (2011: 7) note that graffiti in many situations respond to each other, perhaps emphasising their

⁹³ *ḥm n nsw-bit Dsr-k3-R' s3-R' Imn-ḥtp ḥnh dt (tn) nhḥ*.

⁹⁴ An example of a statue can be seen in Cairo Museum, JE49889, of which the base survives. This statue includes only minimal titles for the king, yet it shows that such statues were placed in the pyramid complex, some of which may have included other epithets.

competitive nature.⁹⁵ A good example of this is a group of graffiti from el-Kanais in which one text reads, ‘I have also come to you, Pan [from Thebes], Poseidos, son of Athenon (Mairs 2011: 161-162).⁹⁶ The phrasing shows that the authors of graffiti were aware of the other texts that surrounded their own, and that the content of their graffiti may have been affected by what they read; in Mairs’ example the author of the later graffito clearly read earlier texts and this led to his inclusion of the word ‘also’ in his own. Admittedly this is a very small addition but it is still indicative of interaction between graffiti. A similar awareness of earlier texts was presumably shared by the authors of the Memphite graffiti. At these temples there is little explicit evidence copying but that does not mean that it did not exist. Texts that criticise other graffiti also demonstrate interaction between the authors, as is seen in G00M34 which derides the poor nature of existing graffiti in the South Chapel of Djoser.⁹⁷

Although not conclusive, the locations of the graffiti within the monuments can give some indication as to whether copying, or other forms of interactions between texts, is likely to have taken place. The positioning of the graffiti is, however, often uncertain and relies in several cases upon sketches and notes made during excavations⁹⁸ as the texts are no longer in situ. When possible locations are analysed, for example the graffiti in the two chapels of Djoser, some correlation can be found;⁹⁹ in the North Chapel, two graffiti occur in the entrance (one on the west wall¹⁰⁰ and one on the east wall¹⁰¹) while the third can be found on the north wall of the east-west passage.¹⁰² In this case the two graffiti in the entrance were close enough for one to be visible to the writer of the other, and the scribe of the graffito in

⁹⁵ See also Mairs (2011).

⁹⁶ See Bernand (1972: no. 4).

⁹⁷ This text is discussed in more detail below, see 2.3.5.

⁹⁸ Navrátilová (2007) uses Gunn MSS and tracings to locate the graffiti in the North and South Chapels of Djoser.

⁹⁹ See plans 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁰ G05M08 (see plan 1a, wall A).

¹⁰¹ G00M33 (see plan 1a, wall B).

¹⁰² G12M21 (see plan 1a, wall C).

the east-west passage would have walked past the other two graffiti to reach the spot he chose for his text. The heights of the texts do not add much to this discussion; two of the texts (G12M21, G00M33) are approximately 57cm from the ground at their lowest point while the third graffito (G05M08) is approximately 77cm from the ground at its lowest point.¹⁰³ Although two of the texts are at the same height this cannot be taken as proof of a connection between the two as they are on different walls,¹⁰⁴ and so the possibility of a connection between the graffiti in this chapel must be left as hypothetical. It is also likely that other graffiti were originally left on these walls which may have encouraged the authors of the three remaining texts to add their writing although this, again, is merely hypothesis.¹⁰⁵

In the south chapel of Djoser there is a more noticeable correlation; of the five examples whose locations have been recorded by Gunn¹⁰⁶ one occurs on wall A¹⁰⁷ while the other four are all found on wall C.¹⁰⁸ Wall C, therefore, held a cluster of graffiti. While the four surviving texts on from this wall do not appear to have been copied from each other,¹⁰⁹ G00M34 does suggest some form of interaction between the texts: as already noted, this graffito includes vehement criticism of the other texts that the author has found at the monument, stating that the author is ‘distressed’ when he sees the work of previous graffitists.

¹⁰³ See Gunn notebook 31: 51 nos. 2, 3; 54 no. 15 (see also Navrátilová (2007: 74, 77, 79)).

¹⁰⁴ One is left to wonder if the authors chose this height due to its being the most comfortable height at which to write, perhaps whilst sitting down, or if the architecture or decoration in this chapel in some way encouraged these graffitists to write their texts at approximately 57cm. Lauer (1939: pls. lxxii-lxxxv) and Firth and Quibbell's (1935: 74-83) discussions of the North and South Chapels do not make any mention of decoration beyond that of basic architectural features, and a photograph of some graffiti (Firth and Quibbell 1935: pl. 83) at the site gives no sign of any decoration surrounding the texts. It cannot, therefore, be confirmed if any decoration of architectural features may have affected the positioning of the graffiti, but it is likely that this was not the case. Negm (1998: 123) also suggests that the graffitists avoided areas of decoration, probably ‘as a matter of respect and natural behaviour towards these holy places’.

¹⁰⁵ Navrátilová (2007: 77), for example, notes that several other ink graffiti were registered by Gunn as appearing on wall B, but that they were not traced by him.

¹⁰⁶ The other graffiti are recorded without an original location.

¹⁰⁷ G12M22 (see plan 1b, wall A)

¹⁰⁸ G05M09, G06M14, G00M34, G00M36 (see plan 1b, wall C).

¹⁰⁹ The four texts each follow very different formats; G05M09 describes the actions of the living king, G06M14 includes a long description of the monument and what appears to be an offering formula, G00M34 discusses the other graffiti at the site, and G00M36 merely states that the scribe came to see the temple of Djoser.

This shows interaction between existing graffiti and a new text, although whether the author of G00M34 is referring to the texts directly surrounding his or if it is a comment on the texts throughout the monument is uncertain.

Again, the heights of the texts do not add much to this discussion with the graffiti on wall C ranging from 115cm to 215cm at the lowest point.¹¹⁰ As noted previously, it is possible that some of these heights were chosen simply because they were comfortable heights at which to write, or because the architecture of the monument allowed for graffiti to be added at these places. Although it is not clear if this was the case in the chapels of Djoser, an interplay between decoration and graffiti can clearly be seen at other sites; Ragazzoli (2013: 6), for example, writes with regards the graffiti in Theban tomb TT60, that the graffiti do not cover the tomb's decoration but are instead 'inserted into it', showing that 'visitors "read" the decoration and reacted to it'. There was at some sites, therefore, a clear interplay between graffiti and the existing architecture and decoration; the walls of the monuments were not simply blank canvases. This is less likely in example of Djoser's monuments, where the relevant decoration may have been little more than a decorative frieze, but it does imply that graffitists interacted with the space on which they wrote; certain places on the walls were thought to be more appropriate than others for the addition of graffiti.

It is also important to remember that many examples have not been attributed to a specific location and so may have originally added to 'clusters', such as the one here. It should be noted that the North and South Chapels of Djoser are not large buildings and so visitors would

¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, the documentation does not give the exact position of the graffiti beyond identifying which wall they were on and, for some, the height at which they sat. This makes it difficult to carry out any more detailed analysis of the interaction between specific texts.

have no doubt been aware of other graffiti in on the walls even if they chose to write theirs in a different part of the structure.

The graffiti at the other sites also further understanding of the way in which such texts may have interacted with each other. The texts from the Sun Temple of Userkhaf, for example, are all thought to come from a similar area of the monument¹¹¹ although these graffiti are preserved on five different blocks and so their proximity to each other is difficult to ascertain definitively.¹¹² One block, however, contains three graffiti,¹¹³ which shows that clusters of texts occurred at this site. With regards to the graffiti in the Memorial Temple of Sneferu at Meidum, Petrie (1892: 9) records that the Eighteenth Dynasty texts were written ‘facing the front entrance to the temple on the west wall of the passage, and some on the sides of the doorway’;¹¹⁴ again, these texts form what may be considered a cluster.¹¹⁵ The two texts from the Memorial Complex of Sahura were not recorded with exact locations and so cannot elucidate this discussion any further.¹¹⁶

It would appear, therefore, that graffiti may have been written in clusters, with existing texts encouraging the addition of later ones. Whether authors of the later graffiti employed direct copying or if they simply used existing graffiti as inspiration to add their own voice cannot be

¹¹¹ Navrátilová (2007: 31, 34-37, 39, 43) suggests that all of the graffiti come from the area of the obelisk base.

¹¹² Frags. US 67, 68, 69, 71, 74 (see Helck 1965: 116-117). Navrátilová (2007: 31) notes that ‘it is not easy to decide whether the blocks formed a compact wall or had already been scattered around the place at the time when the graffiti were written’.

¹¹³ G00M28, G00M29, G00M30 are all found on frag. US 69 (as published in Helck (1965: 117, 119-120)).

¹¹⁴ See plan 2 for locations of the graffiti.

¹¹⁵ Further texts from earlier periods can also be found on the east and north walls of the chamber (Petrie 1892: 9, pl. iv).

¹¹⁶ They are recorded as having been located close to the sanctuary of Sekhmet of Sahura. See Navrátilová (2007: 45), Borchardt (1910).

said. The similarity in phrases in several of the texts¹¹⁷ may point to at least an element of copying, but may also be due to fashions or a corpus of accepted formulae.¹¹⁸

Of course, copying the name of the monument's builder from another graffito or from the monument itself does not preclude the writer having an interest in that person. It is possible that a name was copied simply to ensure the correct 'spelling', or perhaps some graffiti were inscribed on a first visit to a monument when the name of its builder was not known, but the graffitist then repeated this visit at several points in the future after having learned it.

Admittedly these suggestions are merely hypotheses, but they do demonstrate that interest in the owner of a monument and an ability to identify him do not necessarily preclude the copying of names or phrases from existing texts. Although there were likely to have been multiple motivations behind visits to royal monuments, a fundamental interest in and knowledge of the owners of royal memorial monuments probably played a part. Wildung (1969: 69-70) supports this, suggesting that the main reason for visits to these monuments was because of the royal owner and not because of the monuments themselves. Furthermore, even if the graffitist only visited the monument once with no prior knowledge of it, copying the name of the owner made him part of the community of men who had left their mark on the monument. In this way the memory retained in the monument was passed on and developed over time.

¹¹⁷ See below, in particular discussion of texts describing the monument (ch. 2.3.3).

¹¹⁸ This is discussed in more detail below with particular reference to Baines' work on 'decorum' (chs. 2.3.3 and 3.1.3)

2.3.2.2. PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE MONUMENT

The second possibility is that graffitists had knowledge of the monument and its builder before they visited the site, perhaps choosing to visit because of this, either out of historical interest or to show personal devotion to a royal individual. If this was the case, then one is left with the question of where this knowledge originally came from. There are two probable explanations: firstly, that knowledge of royal ancestors was gained from the existence of royal memorial cults, in particular those who held positions within cults may have developed a devotion to a specific individual; secondly, that an interest in the monuments as historical attractions led people to visit them and learn more about them, possibly from local guides.

The first possibility focuses on the existence of memorial cults of deceased kings.¹¹⁹ There is little evidence of cults of deceased Old Kingdom kings being active in the Eighteenth Dynasty but this does not mean they were not. Objects inscribed with the name of Sneferu suggest that a cult relating to this king was active at least as late as the Twelfth Dynasty. One example is a stela dating to the Middle Kingdom on which an offering formula is written to ‘the Great God, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sneferu’ (Fakhry 1961: 79),¹²⁰ and which mentions of the ‘chief *hry-hb* of Sneferu’ (Fakhry 1961: 83).¹²¹ A further stela fragment appears to have been written by the head of a phyle of priests in the temple of Sneferu.¹²² A phyle relating to the memorial cult of Sneferu is also mentioned on an offering table in the memorial temple of the Bent Pyramid at Dahshur, which is signed by ‘the regulator of the phyle of Sneferu’

¹¹⁹ Royal memorial cults are discussed in more detail in ch. 4.

¹²⁰ ‘*ntr ʕ3 nsw-bit Snfrw*’.

¹²¹ ‘*hry-hb tpy Snfrw*’.

¹²² Fakhry (1961: 87) writes that ‘the owner of the monument was a chief of a phyle of priests in Sneferu’s temple’; this is supported by the fragment of the stela which includes the phrase ‘phyle of Snefer[u]’ (‘*s3 m Snfr[w]*’).

(Fakhry 1959: fig. 52).¹²³ The texts themselves suggest a personal devotion to Sneferu by the authors. From this, and from other similar texts,¹²⁴ it is clear that the cult of Sneferu was still active in the late Middle Kingdom although there is no such evidence activity in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The cult of Sekhmet of Sahura which was found in the memorial temple of Sahura at Abusir, in contrast, was active in the Eighteenth Dynasty from at least the reign of Thutmose III (Sadek 1987: 29-34).¹²⁵ This cult was not only celebrated at Abusir but may also have had festivals as far afield as Deir el-Medina;¹²⁶ it is likely, therefore, that the memory of Sahura was retained in connection with this cult beyond the Memphite area. It is quite possible that the graffiti dedicated to Sahura were linked to this cult, either because the graffitists were connected with it or because the existence of the cult encouraged interest in, and knowledge of, the monument and its builder.¹²⁷ It should, however, be noted that none of the three surviving Eighteenth Dynasty texts in this study explicitly mention Sekhmet or her cult, but

¹²³ The full text reads, 'a) An offering which the king gives [to] Ptah and Sneferu, Horus Nebmaat, b) for the *k3* of Sneferu-Seneb, a thousand of bread [and] beer; for the *k3* of the regulator of the phyle of Sneferu, a food offering; for the wab, Sneferu-sheri, the sweet breath of life; for the *k3* of the chief w^cb, Sneferu, true of voice, a thousand of oxen and fowl'. a) *hṭp-di- nsw pth SnfrwHr Nb-M3t*. b) *n k3 n Snfrw-snb h3 t hnkt n k3 n mty n s3 Snfrw hṭpt-df[3] n k3 n w^cb Snfrw-šri t^cw ndm n nḥ n k3 n w^cb 3 Snfrw m3^c-hrw h3 [n] k3 3pdw*. Although the copy made by Fakhry (1959: fig. 52) begins with the word *Hr*, this is so that the eight columns of text are placed in the correct order; the text around the lip of the stand would have been read beginning with '*hṭp-di-nsw*' (see also Fakhry (1959: 86)). See also Jones (2000: 452[1694]) for references relating to the title *mty n s3*, and Gaber (2003: 12-13).

¹²⁴ See, for example, Gaber (2003: 12-13), Fakhry (1959: 63ff).

¹²⁵ Sadek (1987: 29-30) notes a broken cartouche of Amenhotep III as well as votives which are dated to the reigns of Tutankhamun, Aye and Horemheb in the late Eighteenth Dynasty while the graffiti dates from the reign of Thutmose III onwards.

¹²⁶ Gaber (2003: 19) suggests that there were two festivals each year at Deir el-Medina (16 peret 1 and 11 peret 4) which related to the cult of Sekhmet of Sahura. Wildung (1969: 60-61) also notes a statue of Sahura in the Karnak Cachette, which was erected by Senwosret I for 'his father Sahura'; this supports the theory that there was cultic activity relating to this king at Karnak even as early as the Middle Kingdom.

¹²⁷ Borchardt (1908: 29) discusses the connection between Sekhmet and Sahura in this cult, questioning whether 'Ob irgend ein Wandgemälde, das die Sechmet mit dem Könige zusammen zeigte ... oder ob vielleicht das irrtümlich gedeutete Vorkommen des Wortes für die Doppelkrone 'Sekmet' in der Architravinschrift des Säulenhofes dazu geführt hat, oder ob gar der uns unbekannte Name der Königin hierzu Veranlassung war, entzieht sich unserer Beurteilung' ('if any mural that showed Sekhmet together with the king ... or if the word Sekhmet for the double crown was misinterpreted as 'Sekhmet' in the texts on the architrave of the court, or if an unknown name of the queen caused [this cult]').

this does not preclude there having been a link between the existence of the cult and the interest of individuals in visiting the site.¹²⁸

Evidence for the existence of cults of the other kings whose monuments appear in this corpus is more difficult to find although this does not preclude those cults having been active.¹²⁹ As already noted, the graffiti in the Djoser complex have a lower level of approximately half a metre above floor level, which demonstrates that the buildings were standing in the New Kingdom, and implies that they had not yet filled with desert sand (see Philips (1997: 7)). This may point to their still being in use in this period.¹³⁰ Some of the texts, however, reach more than two metres above floor level (Philips 1997: 8-10); such heights would have been difficult to reach unless the floor level was raised, possibly by incoming sand. This would support the assumption that the building was left uncared for at some points leading to graffiti at high levels, and then cleared in times of renewed interest allowing graffiti at lower heights.¹³¹

Furthermore, the existence of cults relating to specific kings was not the only possible form in which deceased kings could enjoy some form of cultic activity; the kinglist of Tjuneroy from

¹²⁸ See Navrátilová (2007: 45-47) for discussion of the cult of Sekhmet as a factor in the existence of the graffiti; she, too, notes the lack of mention of Sekhmet in the texts but suggests that the existence of the cult may have been a factor in the presence of visitors to the site who then left graffiti.

¹²⁹ Firth and Gunn (1926: 223), for example, record an offering table which includes the name of Teti clearly visible in a cartouche. Jequier suggests, with regards to a potential cult of Shepseskha¹ at Saqqara in the Middle Kingdom, that it may have survived due to the support of a local group, who saw it as an opportunity to exploit the desire of the local people to gain the protection of an ancient king; he writes (Jéquier 1928: 32) that 'Il faut donc qu'à un moment donné quelqu'un ait repris la chose en main, et de façon non officielle, car tel qu'il est constitué, la sacerdoce a tout l'air d'une entreprise particulière destinée à exploiter la dévotion des gens pays en leur donnant la possibilité de se mettre dans l'autre monde sous la protection d'un ancien pharaon, dont le crédit auprès des dieux devait être d'autant plus grand que son monument funéraire était plus imposant'.

¹³⁰ See also Wildung (1969: 59-60 [Dok. XVI.20]) who discusses, for example, a statue dedicated to Djoser by Senwosret II; this statue shows that remembrance of past kings was evident in the Middle Kingdom, and may support the theory that cults to these kings were also active, at least at certain points after the Old Kingdom.

¹³¹ See Philips (1997: fig. 4) for evidence of a build-up of sand in the earlier part of the New Kingdom, that was then cleared between the reigns of Thutmose III and Tutankhamun.

the Nineteenth Dynasty¹³² demonstrates the existence of a cult of collective royal ancestors, in which past kings were remembered and rituals were carried out on their behalf as a group. Although dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty, this shows that such cults existed in the New Kingdom and may possibly have been a source for knowledge of the builders of the Memphite monuments. It is possible, therefore, that activity relating to these cults allowed at least some people access to knowledge of past kings and helped to nurture an interest in their monuments.

The second possibility, as noted above, is that some visitors had an interest in the monuments as historical sites and gained knowledge of them through guides akin to tourist guides of the present day.¹³³ Herodotus' writings imply that he may have been guided at sites by Egyptians, with references to what he was told (for example Herodotus *The Histories* II. 3, 130 (see de Sélincourt 2003)).¹³⁴ If such guides led visitors around sites in later periods, then it is feasible that similar practices also occurred earlier, although this should not be assumed given the chronological gap between the two periods.

Negm (1998: 115) suggests that there was a 'great sense and admiration of the middle and higher educated classes towards their country's long history and attractive monuments'; if this were the case then this sense of, and interest in, the history of the monuments was likely to have been a factor in encouraging visits to the sites.¹³⁵ The apparent practice of visiting tomb

¹³² This kinglist, found at Saqqara, lists the Egyptian kings from the First Dynasty to Ramesses II with some exceptions (Martin 1991: 123). Tjuneroy has been identified as being a chief lector of deified rulers and includes offering formulae relating to his position in the kinglist (D. Redford 1986: 21-22).

¹³³ Helck (1952: 44) suggests that tombs became tourist destinations in the New Kingdom, but writes that their appeal was linked to them being places of beauty (as recorded in graffiti that use the word 'beautiful').

¹³⁴ Casson (2001: 68) blames any inaccuracies in Herodotus' information about the pyramids at Giza on guides who showed him the site, which emphasises the possibility of incorrect information being passed to visitors by those who offer to show them the sights.

¹³⁵ Negm (1998: 122) notes, for example, a graffito from the reign of Ramesses II in the tomb of Ptahshepses at Saqqara which was written on behalf of a scribe and his father and states that they intended to visit this tomb as

TT60 at Thebes to view a depiction of Senwosret I inside of it may be seen as another example of this; this idea is supported by an Eighteenth Dynasty graffito in the tomb which states that the tomb is ‘of the time of Kheperkara (Senwosret I)’.¹³⁶ This shows that the link between the king and the tomb was recognised by visitors and may imply prior knowledge of it.¹³⁷ Ragazzoli (2013: 23), furthermore, draws a link between the literary ideas of the time, as found in texts such as the Teaching of Amenemhat, and an interest in Senwosret I; here, a wider cultural context may be implicated in the choice of king commemorated.

Texts written on behalf of groups should also be noted, such as one signed by:

the royal herald Amu[n]edjeh ... , the brewers [and] the assistants [...]mpet,
Amenhotep, the scribe Mentuhotep, the scribe Djehutyem[hat, Humesh ...] scribe [...]
(G05M06).

These texts may have been written by groups who were being shown around the monument. Again, this supports the idea that these sites were viewed as suitable places to undertake cultural pursuits, and it is quite possible that locals acted as guides to the monuments for such groups, although no explicit evidence for this is forthcoming.¹³⁸ Another text, found at the Sun Temple of Userkhaf, writes that the author:

well as the pyramids at Abusir and the chapel of Sekhmet in the Memorial temple of Sahura (see Navrátilová (2007: 58-61)). See also Fischer-Elfert (2003: 132) and Wildung (1969: 69-72) who discuss the importance of the monuments as pilgrimage sites rather than tourist ones.

¹³⁶ G00T39.

¹³⁷ Additionally, the wrong designation of TT60 to a Middle Kingdom Queen, Sobekneferu, by some graffitists can be explained by a misreading of the texts in the tomb, but it may also suggest that some visitors came to the tomb with a prior, albeit incorrect, knowledge of its owner (Philips 1997: 5). Fischer-Elfert (2003: 132), however, suggests that the visits should not be understood as demonstrating a tourist’s interest in the sites, but a ‘pious’ desire to link oneself to a revered king and to profit from this relationship. See chs. 2.3.4 and 2.4.2 for discussion of graffiti that appeal to the royal ancestor.

¹³⁸ As noted above, in this section, Herodotus’ writing suggest that there may have been individuals at certain sites that passed their knowledge of it on to visitors (see de Sélincourt (2003: 130)).

came to amuse [himself/themselves] upon the desert of Memphis (G00M31).¹³⁹

Here the text explicitly states that the aim of the visit was enjoyment, again supporting the hypothesis that recreation was a factor in the decision to visit these sites. Further evidence for the existence of early tourism at royal memorial sites is found at Deir el-Bahri; when the memorial temple of Hatshepsut was built, it risked blocking the entrance to the tomb of an Eleventh Dynasty princess, Neferu (TT319, PM I.I: 391-392). To solve this problem, a new ‘tourist’ entrance was created to the tomb in which the names of Eighteenth Dynasty visitors have been recorded (see Peden (2001: 71-72)). Here, the importance of a tomb as a ‘tourist’ destination, possibly due to its architecture, is recognised by state officials, and its entrance is kept viable (Peden 2001: 72).¹⁴⁰

Additionally, the use of these historical sites for educational purposes is implied in a graffito in the North Chapel of Djoser which states that it was written by

the scribe and teacher, [Seth]emhab, and by the scribe Ah<mose> (G05M08).

This suggests that the graffito was written by a teacher and his student, and so it is possible that the visit was undertaken for educational purposes.

It should be noted that the identification of monuments was not always correct, which suggests either that the author had come to the site with incorrect knowledge or that he was

¹³⁹ A similar graffito can be found in TT504 at Thebes which reads ‘coming of the *wꜥb* and scribe of the temple of Aakheperkara, Nebwa(w), to see this place to take recreation to his limit within it’ (*‘twt pw ir.n wꜥb sš hwt n ꜥ3-hpr-k3-rꜥ nb-wꜥw r m33 st tn r sd3 dr.f im.s’*).

¹⁴⁰ See also Winlock (1926: 12-13).

misinformed. G05M06, for example, incorrectly identifies the monument as a ‘pyramid’ when in fact it is the Sun Temple of Userkhaf:¹⁴¹ It seems unlikely that the visitor would not know the difference between a pyramid and a temple, in contrast to the knowledge displayed in other graffiti, such as another text also found in the Sun Temple of Userkhaf which reads:

Coming of the scribe Teti [to see] the two temples of [...] the builder (G00M27).

This text notes the two separate parts of the temple, the upper and the lower (Navrátilová 2007: 35); this suggests that the author had a good knowledge of the building’s architecture, perhaps because he had previous experience of such monuments or perhaps learned from a guide, if such individuals were active at the site. As such, it is in stark contrast to the lack of knowledge shown by the author of G05M06. Peden (2001: 59) suggests that G05M06 is referring to the granite obelisk added to the structure by Neferirkara and this may offer a suitable solution to the problem. If this were the case then the author of the graffito incorrectly identified the obelisk rather than the temple; perhaps he was uncertain of how to refer to the obelisk and so called it a ‘pyramid’. Peden (2001: 59) goes on to suggest that the author may also have mistaken the sun temple for the pyramid of Userkhaf at Saqqara, which could again be his own error or that of a guide. Such mistakes show that not everyone had a good understanding of the sites that they were visiting, or felt that the use of correct terminology was important. It should also be noted that G05M06 is written on behalf of a group of men and the majority of the text is dedicated either to naming these individuals or to the activities of the current king. This lends weight to the theory that the men who wrote this graffito were visiting the site as tourists, perhaps whilst on official duties for the king or for one of his

¹⁴¹ The author uses the word *mr* which is clearly intended to denote a pyramid. See below, ch. 2.3.3., for more information on the identification of monuments as a specific architectural structure.

institutions. As such this visit could be understood as a group day out, where the focus was on enjoyment as opposed to the acquiring of knowledge. This suggests a lack of interest in the monument itself and may explain the incorrect designation of the site.

It is, therefore, difficult to be certain where the knowledge of the builder of a monument came from; it could be linked to the memorial cults of deceased kings or to a historical interest in the site, or it could be gleaned from men who offered their services as guides in the necropolis. It is likely, however, that the monuments, as memorials to specific royal ancestors, acted as sites of memory for this knowledge; both the monuments themselves and the graffiti within them helped to promulgate the memory of the king for whom the monument was built. Regardless of the source of information, the inclusion of royal names in the graffiti shows an interest by graffitists in the history of the monument and the royal ancestor who was responsible for it; one could argue that the meaning of the monument was found in knowing its history and being able to invoke its creator. Furthermore, it was important not only to know the builder of the monument, but to be *seen* to know it; graffiti allowed the scribe to demonstrate his knowledge of, and devotion to, a specific royal ancestor in the eyes of all who followed him to the same place.

2.3.3. GRAFFITI DESCRIBING THE MONUMENT

Twelve graffiti in the Memphite region include a description of the monument although the detail varies from simply identifying the building to poetic phrases.¹⁴² Four identify the building as a 'pyramid' (*m[h]r*¹⁴³),¹⁴⁴ for example:

¹⁴² Texts which identify the building are also discussed in the previous section. See app. 5 for a table of descriptive terms.

the scribe May to see the very great pyramid of the Horus, Sneferu [...] (G09M18).

A further eleven note that the monument they are visiting is a ‘temple’ (*hwt-ntr*¹⁴⁵),¹⁴⁶ such as:

Coming of the scribe Ahmose, son of Iptah, to see the temple of Djoser (G05M08).

Such a fact could be ascertained simply by looking at the monument but that over half chose to record the type of building shows at least a cursory interest in identifying it correctly.¹⁴⁷

Additionally, several other phrases or words can be found repeated within the corpus. Seven texts include the phrase ‘like heaven’,¹⁴⁸ for example:

Coming of the scribe Ahmose, son of Iptah, to see the temple of Djoser. He found it like heaven in its interior (G05M08).

Five graffiti include the word ‘beautiful’,¹⁴⁹ for example:

¹⁴³ See Wörterbuch IV: 94. Navrátilová (2007: 32), for example, transliterates the word as *mr* while Quack (2003) suggests a transliteration of *mhr*.

¹⁴⁴ G05M06, G05M13, G07M15, G09M18. Of course, G05M06 is not a pyramid but a sun temple; it has been wrongly identified by the scribe.

¹⁴⁵ The only exception to this is G00M27 which reads ‘*hwtj ntry*’ which is translated as ‘two temples’. See also Wörterbuch III: 1, 4-5, where the transcription *ht* is preferred for the general term.

¹⁴⁶ G02M03, G05M07, G05M08, G05M11 (notes the ‘water of the temple’ which is, presumably, a reference to the monument), G05M13, G06M14, G12M21, G00M27, G00M34, G00M35 (translation only), G00M36.

¹⁴⁷ Of course, it should be noted that the authors of the graffiti had to refer to the monument as something and so this identification may be no more than this, rather than showing any real interest.

¹⁴⁸ Written *mi pt* and usually followed by *m hnw.s* (‘in its interior’). G02M03 (damaged but this was clearly the phrase used), G05M07, G05M08, G05M10, G05M13, G08M16, G00M31, G00M35. G00M27 probably also contained this phrase originally but the phrase is damaged.

¹⁴⁹ The graffitists use *nfr* to denote ‘beautiful’ (or ‘perfect’, although ‘beautiful’ provides a better translation), usually claiming that ‘he/I found it beautiful’ (i.e. ‘*gm.n.fst nfr sy*’ (G06M14), ‘*gm.n.fsy nfr*’ (G08M16), ‘*gm.n.i nfr*’ (G00M33)), although G00M32 uses the phrase ‘beauty more than’ (‘*nfr ʿ3 r.f*’) and G05M13 writes of the ‘beautiful temple’ (‘*hwt-ntr nfr*’).

He found it beautiful in his heart, it was very great in his eyes like heaven, made bright (by) the moon. And so he said, ‘How beautiful is [the temple of(?)] the *k3* of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sah[u]ra, true of voice (G08M16).¹⁵⁰

Four further graffiti describe the monument as being like ‘Ra rising/shining’.¹⁵¹ An example of this is:

[He] found it like [heaven] in (its) interior, Ra rising [in it] (G02M03).

As this graffito shows, there is a connection between the phrases, ‘he found it like heaven’ and ‘Ra rising in it’. This occurs in all four graffiti which include the phrase ‘Ra rising in it’, with one phrase following the other. This implies that the two phrases were part of a formula that was commonly used to describe such monuments rather than being a genuine expression of an individual reaction to the site. A further phrase describing myrrh, or incense, can also be found in two texts,¹⁵² with two others including an image of incense, or myrrh, as a wish for the future.¹⁵³ Three of these also include both phrases relating to Ra and heaven while the fourth includes the phrase ‘like heaven’. This, again points to a formula.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Note that this graffito uses the term ‘beautiful’ both to describe the monument and as part of the direct speech of the author so as to emphasise this description of the monument.

¹⁵¹ G02M03, G05M08 and G05M13 use the verb *wbn*. The original text of G00M35 has not survived and so one must rely on Černý’s translation which reads ‘Ra rising in it’.

¹⁵² G05M13, G00M35.

¹⁵³ For example G05M07, G05M08.

¹⁵⁴ As already noted, some of these were a wish for the future rather than a description of the monument itself. Navrátilová (2007: 76), for example, translates G05M08 as reading ‘May the heaven send down myrrh [...] and provide incense for it!’ thus suggesting a prospective reading of the phrase rather than understanding it as a description. As the original text for G00M35 has not survived, it is not possible to compare the phrasing to determine if the meaning was descriptive or a wish for the future.

Such statements were common in the graffiti at Memphis and were spread evenly across all of the monuments studied here.¹⁵⁵ That the phrases are not clustered in one specific area suggests that they were not simply the result of later graffitists copying earlier ones although this does not preclude them having been a part of a set of a corpus of accepted phrases. The frequent connection between the phrases discussed supports the idea that certain formulae were commonly used in graffiti at monumental sites, and although they were not necessarily actually copied from other texts they were all taken from a recognised corpus. G05M13 also provides evidence for this as it includes all of the four phrases discussed in this section:

Coming of the scribe, Aakheperkara(sonb), son of the scribe and *hry-hb* of Aakheperkara to see the beautiful temple of the Horus Sneferu. He found it like heaven inside it, Ra rising in it. And then its myrrh, the sky rains with its unguent [...] upon the roof of the pyramid (temple) of the Horus Sneferu (G05M13).

Here the graffitist uses a host of stock phrases which then proceeds into an offering formula. It is possible that he simply regurgitated all of the acceptable descriptive terms that he knew, thus creating what at first appears to be a detailed description of the monument but is, in fact, simply a standardised list of words and phrases.¹⁵⁶

Whether the texts, therefore, actually described the monument or instead put forward an idealised description is uncertain. Navrátilová (2007: 88) notes that such texts may have described how the monument *should* have looked rather than how it actually did look, thus

¹⁵⁵ 'Like heaven' can be found on all of the five monuments studied, while the other phrases are spread equally across a selection of them. It is important to remember that many of the texts are damaged and so the numbers including these phrases may have originally been higher.

¹⁵⁶ Although not part of the catalogue for this study, Philips (1997: 6) notes that graffiti can be found at Thebes which also include these formulaic descriptive phrases. This suggests that any standardisation stretched from Memphis to Thebes.

suggesting that such descriptions must not be taken as necessarily evidencing the condition of the structure at that time. The actual state of the monuments may have been quite different. The similarity of phrases on different monuments implies that they were thought of as appropriate texts for such a situation; they followed a standard corpus. Baines (1990: 20) emphasises the importance of ‘decorum’ which, he states, ‘is a set of rules defining what may be represented ... and possibly written down, in which context and in what form’. He notes that decorum is focused on ‘enacting and representing the proper order of the world’ (Baines 2007: 16).¹⁵⁷ Although not officially curbing freedom of expression decorum could have restricted the contents of graffiti, either through limiting what graffitists included in their inscriptions, or through controlling what ideas were inscribed on temple walls and other state texts that were then used as inspiration. Therefore, although these texts could be seen as representing non-elite individuals¹⁵⁸ who were free from constraints of state ideology, this may not have been the case. Whilst being written by private individuals who technically had the freedom to write what they chose they were at least constrained by what was considered to be socially acceptable, if not restricted by what was allowed by the state.¹⁵⁹ Mairs (2011: 156-157) suggests that graffiti were ‘informal’ only in that they were written by non-professional epigraphers but that they ‘express the same religious notions and official hierarchies’, often using the same vocabulary as ‘official’ inscriptions; phrases such as the *hṯp-di-nsw* formula,¹⁶⁰ and the frequent use of popular official royal epithets,¹⁶¹ may be used to support this theory. Perhaps, therefore, when reading the graffiti one is looking at private expressions of state ideology rather than personal reactions to the splendour of the royal memorial

¹⁵⁷ See also Sorenson (1989: 21) who considers the importance of restricting divine access in Egyptian society. This is discussed further in ch. 3.1.3.

¹⁵⁸ The definition of ‘elite’ is a difficult one and can be linked with literacy, as discussed above. Here the term ‘elite’ is used to describe those members of society who were not within royal circles or those of high society, although they must have been literate, or have known someone who was, in order to leave graffiti.

¹⁵⁹ There are some exceptions to this, for example G00M28 which reads ‘see the coward’; graffiti displaying negative emotions will be discussed in more detail below (ch. 2.3.5).

¹⁶⁰ For example, in G05M13. Offering formulae are discussed in more detail below, see ch. 2.3.4.

¹⁶¹ These include *s3-Rc* and *nsw-bit* which can both be found, for example, in G05M06, G05M07 and G12M21.

monuments. Furthermore, Ragazzoli's comment that the graffiti in TT60 adhered to the decorative programme of the tomb, interacting with the tomb decoration rather than acting over it, supports the idea that the graffitists were acting within pre-existing constraints; the graffitists were 'respecting the decorum at play in the tomb' when adding their inscriptions (Ragazzoli 2013: 7)

2.3.4. GRAFFITI INCLUDING PLEAS, OR OFFERINGS FOR THE ROYAL ANCESTOR

Alongside identification of the monument and descriptive phrases, six graffiti in the Memphite region include an offering formula, or mention offerings or provisions.¹⁶² The different styles of the texts means that it is helpful to look at the phrasing of each in turn. Three of these are explicitly offered on behalf of the owner of the monument on which the graffito is written. One, on the memorial temple of Sahura at Abusir, includes the line:

then offer it to Sahura, true of voice (G05M07).

The second, at the North Chapel of Djoser at Saqqara, reads:

And so then he said there, 'Let it be caused that there come bread, beer, [bulls], birds and all good and pure things for the *k3* of Djoser, true of voice' (G05M08).

¹⁶² G05M07, G05M08, G05M11, G05M13, G06M14, G08M16. A seventh text, which includes a plea to the god Osiris (G12M21), is also included in this category, and is discussed below ch. 2.3.4.4.

The third, in the Memorial Temple of Sneferu at Meidum, includes an appeal to passing individuals to read the inscription aloud and recite a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula for the *k3* of Sneferu and Queen Meresankh:

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, ... may they give a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer ... (a list of offerings follows here) ... for the *k3* of Horus Sneferu [...] alongside of his father Osiris(?), the great god, lord of the holy land [...] Meresankh (G05M13)

A fourth graffito includes the phrase:

of bulls, fowl (G08M16)

Here it is unclear to whom the offering is intended, but it is likely that it is also aimed at the owner of the monument, who in this case is Sahura.

A fifth graffito includes an offering formula which is dedicated not to the builder of the monument but to the ‘those of the White Walls’ and the ‘lords of Iunu’:

and so then he said, ‘Praise to you those of the White Walls,¹⁶³ kings [...] Your name [...] every day with the lords of Iunu [...] with them your food offerings (G05M11).

¹⁶³ Navrátilová (2007: 96-97) suggests that these are the king of the Memphite nome. See also app. 1.

The sixth graffito, found at the south chapel of Djoser at Saqqara, contains only fragmentary phrases, but appears to have included at least part of an offering formula, as it mentions ‘provisions’ (G06M14).¹⁶⁴

These texts demonstrate not only an interest in the monument or devotion to the builder, but an active involvement in providing for them, or other individuals, after death.

2.3.4.1. ‘PERSONAL PIETY’ IN THE EARLY NEW KINGDOM

Navrátilová (2006: 92-94) states that texts expressing ‘personal piety’ are more common in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties than in the Eighteenth. She suggests that Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti expressed more of an interest in the ancient buildings, noting that their builders are often identified accurately in the Eighteenth Dynasty; later graffiti, in contrast, had a stronger focus on expressions of piety, which led to more mistakes in identification of the monuments (Navrátilová 2006: 94-95). This suggestion is supported by the fact that twelve of the thirty-three Memphite graffiti correctly identify the builder of the monument.¹⁶⁵ There are no instances in this period of an incorrect identification of the builder of a monument at Memphis, with the one error being that of the author incorrectly identifying the building as a pyramid but making no mention of its builder.¹⁶⁶ This supports Navrátilová’s view that the focus of visits to royal memorial structures in this period was not necessarily on taking part in an offering cult, but on an interest in its history.

¹⁶⁴ It is possible that the word ‘provisions’ actually forms part of a title held by the graffitist (possibly ‘scribe of provisions’). However, the final lines of the text suggest that some form of offering speech was recorded (the phrase ‘and then he said’ has even survived).

¹⁶⁵ See above for further discussion of graffiti identifying the monument (ch. 2.3.2), and graffiti describing the monument (ch. 2.3.3).

¹⁶⁶ G05M06, discussed in more detail above (ch. 2.3.2.2).

Yet this does not take into account the texts mentioned above that clearly show an interest in the practice of leaving offerings for the dead, either literally or though saying (or writing) the correct words. It cannot be denied that at least some visitors came with more than simply historic interest. Navrátilová (2006: 95) has noted that it is ‘probably not entirely possible to extricate the memory of significant past events and deeds from the reverence to the deified king ... who made or authorised them’ which implies that there was a deeper aspect to all of the graffiti; one cannot define each graffito either as ‘historic’, ‘devotional’ or ‘cultic’, but may find an interaction of all three elements in the text which mirrors the complex motivations for visits to the sites. This suggestion of a link between historic interest and devotion or cultic activity is supported by the graffiti noted in this section which show a knowledge of the owner of the monument but also include offering formulae dedicated to him.

Opinions on personal piety¹⁶⁷ in ancient Egypt are divided. One viewpoint, championed by Assmann (1984: 258-282), is that personal piety was primarily a consequence of the post-Amarna Period.¹⁶⁸ The graffiti recorded here, however, date primarily from the reign of Thutmose III and so can be seen as evidence that personal piety, or at the very least devotion to royal ancestors, existed earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is supported by studies such as that of Posener (1975) which focuses on Eighteenth Dynasty ostraca from Sheik Abd el-

¹⁶⁷ See Luiselli (2008: 4-5) for discussion of the terminology. Such terms are usually used to refer to devotion to a specific god or gods; this study will, however, use the term ‘personal piety’ to refer to the devotion of an individual to a royal ancestor, as demonstrated by the offering texts in the corpus. Although not directed towards a god, the offering texts in these graffiti show a similar form of devotion and so theories of personal piety and religion may be used here; it is, however, important to remain aware that the instances discussed in this section do differ slightly from the ‘piety’ discussed in the literature, due to their focus on deceased kings.

¹⁶⁸ See also Brunner (1982: 951).

Qurna and argues that elements of personal piety similar to that found in the Ramesside Period are clearly evidenced in the pre-Amarna Period.¹⁶⁹

2.3.4.2. PRIVATE AND MONUMENTAL PRACTICES

Formulae such as *hṭp-di-nsw*¹⁷⁰ and appeals to visitors would have been familiar to private individuals. The call for food and drink offerings to be brought for the *k3* of the deceased, along with depictions of such activity, is found, for example, in private memorial contexts;¹⁷¹ tomb owners left appeals for visitors to bring offerings for their *k3* and to say prayers. People visited private tombs both as part of the memorial cult of the owner during festivals¹⁷² and because of an interest in the monument,¹⁷³ and so it is possible that visitors took phrases that they knew from their own lives and used them to commemorate royal ancestors. Ragazzoli (2013: 14-16), in fact, draws a direct link between the visitors' graffiti and the appeals to the living that are often found in tombs; she suggests, based on the lexicography of the texts, that that there was a conscious choice to replicate ideas contained within the appeals to the living

¹⁶⁹ For further discussion, see also Backes (2001) which looks at a private offering stela dedicated to several gods, and Baines and Frood (2011). Luiselli (2008) discusses the main theories on this topic, including those of Bickel (2003) and Kessler (1998), who view Ramesside personal piety as a continuation of pre-Amarna practices. Baines and Frood (2011: 2), for example, suggest that the Amarna Period, rather than causing a completely new movement, 'produced an extreme manifestation of broader movements that happened before and after the crisis, as well as during it'.

¹⁷⁰ This can be translated as 'an offering which the king gives'. See, for example, the stela of Djehuty, found in TT11 (PM I.I: 22), which begins with a '*hṭp-di-nsw*' formula (Northampton et al. (1908: pl. xxxiv), Urk IV: 431-41). Barta (1968) analyses the many variations in the offering formula, with references from each period of Egyptian history, including the Eighteenth Dynasty (Barta 1968: 85-138). Lapp (1986) also provides detailed analysis of the offering formula. Franke (2003) provides a further critique of previous studies on the formulae.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, TT75 (Davies and N. Davies 1923: pls. xiv, xv).

¹⁷² For example the Beautiful Festival of the Valley during which people visited family tombs. See ch. 4.4 for further discussion of festivals.

¹⁷³ The graffiti in TT60 demonstrates a high number of visits to a private monument. Two of the graffiti from this tomb used in this study include the name of royal ancestors and may have been left on the incorrect assumption that the tomb belonged to Queen Sobekneferu (see below, ch. 2.4.1), but there are many other graffiti in this tomb that attest to its being a popular destination for visitors (see Ragazzoli (2013) for a recent publication of the texts).

in the graffiti.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps then, the texts not only drew inspiration from recognisable appeals in private tombs, but actually recreated the rituals contained within those texts; by including the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, the graffiti acted out the rituals. As Frood (2013: 285-286) writes, the graffiti can be understood as ‘a ritual act ... Some graffiti mobilise performance explicitly by evoking speech’. The active nature of graffiti is thus emphasised; they act not only as writing but as representatives of speech with the same symbolism and power.¹⁷⁵

Of course the *ḥtp-di-nsw* was also used in royal contexts, for example the daily offering ritual of Amenhotep I;¹⁷⁶ this ritual, although not public, shows the similarity between state and private rituals. It is, therefore, possible that it was simply seen as an appropriate offering formula, handed down by the state. This, again, suggests that decorum, or accepted modes of expression, may have played a role in affecting individual expression as seen in graffiti. Yet, although these formulae were used in state contexts, it is more likely that the graffitists were inspired to use them by their own experience of local or family tombs. Here the interaction between the private memorial sphere and state monuments is seen; individuals who visited royal monuments related to, and understood them in ways that they were familiar with, adding texts that they encountered in their own lives, which were themselves derived from those used in state contexts. Through the graffiti, they created a link between the king whose monument they visited and their own ancestors; private ancestors were treated, as these *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae suggest, in the same way that royal ancestors were.

¹⁷⁴ The same may be true of letters to the dead (see, for example, Freedman (1985)).

¹⁷⁵ Ragazzoli (2013: 19-21) discusses the power of graffiti as representative of speech and ritual.

¹⁷⁶ See Bacchi (1942).

These texts could also, however, be understood as showing a connection with the royal memorial cults that the authors of the graffiti may have encountered;¹⁷⁷ certain individuals would have been familiar with the offering rituals and formulae that were used in the cults of royal ancestors and it is possible that individuals copied rituals from these cults in their graffiti. As these formulae were used in royal memorial cults, they were seen as appropriate for the monuments of past kings. It should be noted, however, that none of the Memphite graffiti in this study includes a personal title which explicitly relates to a royal memorial cult, although this does not preclude the writer having been active in, or familiar with, the practices of such cults.¹⁷⁸ Caution should also be taken with this hypothesis as there is very little evidence of cults relating to royal ancestors in the Eighteenth Dynasty in the Memphite region, the cult of Sekhmet of Sahura being the one exception.¹⁷⁹ The lack of evidence does not mean that such cults did not exist in this period but one cannot assume it.¹⁸⁰

Whilst it is, therefore, probable that the inspiration for these texts came from a private context, it is also possible that state practices were a driving force behind them. Both explanations, however, emphasise the connection between state and private practice; that of state monuments (and potentially memorial cults) with private graffiti (and possibly private memorial practices). This interaction between state and private is key when looking at the role that phenomena such as graffiti may have played both in the development of social identity and the legitimisation of the state.

¹⁷⁷ For more on royal memorial cults see ch. 4.

¹⁷⁸ See also ch. 4.2.1.1 for discussion of the practice of holding multiple titles within memorial cults.

¹⁷⁹ See above, ch. 2.3.2.2, for more detail.

¹⁸⁰ See ch. 4.3.1.1 for discussion of the possibility of royal memorial cults in the Memphite region in the New Kingdom.

2.3.4.3. THE ROYAL *k3*

Two of the texts include a plea for the *k3* of the royal ancestor.¹⁸¹ The first, found in the North Chapel of Djoser at Saqqara, reads:

And so he said there, ‘Let it be caused that there come bread, beer, [bulls], birds and all good and pure things for the *k3* of Djoser, true of voice (G05M08).

The second, already discussed above, comes from the temple of Sneferu at Meidum, with the final phrase reading:

for the *k3* of Horus Sneferu [...] alongside his father Osiris(?) the great god, lord of the holy land [...] Meresankh (G05M13)

This is perhaps to be expected in a memorial context, but it also reminds one of the importance of the royal *k3* in the ideology of kingship. Lanny Bell (1998: 140) discussed the role of the royal *k3* as the ‘immortal creative spirit of divine kingship’. In this theology, the *k3* of an individual king was part of the totality of the royal *k3*; individual kings were fundamentally the same, connected by their possession of this royal *k3*, which emphasised the king’s divine origins. A king could only be worshipped in his own cult as an ‘incarnation of his own *ka* ... the king was adored not in his human, mortal form but only in his divine aspect’ (L. Bell 1998: 140). As discussed in the general introduction, this can be related to Kantorowicz’s theory of the two bodies of the king;¹⁸² while the individual king is mortal, the

¹⁸¹ G05M08, G05M13.

¹⁸² See Kantorowicz (1997: 337), who notes both the physical and the ‘invisible and immaterial’ crowns which represent the two bodies of the king.

king as ruler is immortal, part of a continuous line of rulers who are connected by an eternal thread (in the case of Egypt, the royal *k3*).

One may see the focus on the royal *k3* in graffiti as a private acknowledgement of the importance of this aspect, which was made visible to the people in royal processions such as that at the Opet Festival in Luxor when the reigning king was identified with the royal *k3* and ‘divine kingship was reborn’ (L. Bell 1998: 157). Unlike in Luxor, there is no direct evidence of such activity in Memphis in this period, but it is likely that processions and festivals celebrating the king (and his *k3*) would have occurred.

It should, however, also be noted that references to the *k3* are frequently found in tomb offering formulae in both private and royal contexts; this is the same as has already been found with the use of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula and, again, shows the close links between royal and private practice.¹⁸³ Caution must be taken, therefore, not to attach too high a significance to this aspect of the graffiti; it is possible that the term ‘*k3*’ was included simply because this was a commonly used formula in offering texts. The *k3* referred to an eternal aspect of the person,¹⁸⁴ and so by referring to this the graffitist was not making a reference to the undying royal *k3* and its greater significance to the role of the king, but simply to the undying part of the mortal king, in the same way that the *k3* of any person would have been referred to after death.

¹⁸³ For example, in appeals to visitors to bring offerings and the accompanying depictions, as discussed above.

¹⁸⁴ Silverman (2003) defines the *k3* as ‘the ‘vital force’ or ‘creative life energy’ of a person or a god. The *k3* of a mortal was created at birth and remained with the body for life as a ‘spiritual double’ ... When the body died, it was the *k3* that remained in existence and (an Egyptian hoped) successfully entered the afterlife, where it was sustained by grave goods and the votive offerings of the living’.

2.3.4.4. PLEAS TO THE GODS

One final example makes a detailed plea not to the royal ancestor, whom he identifies as Djoser, but to Osiris:

[He] said [...] ‘Behold, may (I) reach western Memphis. Osiris, may (I) follow your *k3* in [...] good] Osiris. You make it good [...] reach good old age (G12M21).

Here, the intention is not to honour the king who built the monument but to use the monument to offer a plea to Osiris. The scribe saw the structure not only as a monument of a king but as a house of the gods; that he identified the building as having been built by Djoser shows that he did not mistake it for a temple of Osiris but saw the connection between the deceased king and the god of the netherworld.¹⁸⁵ Here the interrelation between so-called ‘divine’ and ‘memorial’ temples is clear; while modern scholarship may differentiate between those temples which were dedicated to the gods and those which served the memory of a royal person, Egyptian visitors did not distinguish so readily.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ See, for example, Griffiths (1980: 8, 44-47) notes the close connection of Osiris to the deceased king in the pyramid texts dating from the Old Kingdom, as well as the connection of Osiris, as the ruler of the underworld, with the king, as the ruler of this world (Griffiths 1982: 627).

¹⁸⁶ This issue is addressed by Haeny (1998: 86-90), who looks at the different terms for temples in ancient Egypt, including the Egyptian term ‘mansion of millions of years’. An example of the close connection between divine and memorial structures can be found at the memorial temples of royal individuals at Thebes; these temples included chapels to a variety of gods, for example the Deir el-Bahri temple of Hatshepsut which included chapels dedicated to Hathor and Anubis (PM II: plan xxxv). A chapel of Sekhmet which was linked to the memorial complex of Sahura at Abusir provides a similar link in the Memphite region (see Sadek (1987: 29-34)). This is discussed further in ch. 4.

2.3.5. GRAFFITI PORTRAYING NEGATIVE EMOTIONS

Two graffiti fit clearly into this category. The first includes a detailed criticism of other graffiti at the site:

The coming of the scribe, excellent of fingers, an excellent scribe second to none ...
‘my heart is distressed (?) when I come to see the work of their hands. It is not [...] excellent in front of, it is like a maidservant, a woman, a wife who does not [know about] it, as their thought does not exist, if they could enter [...] to see the temple. [I] saw such laziness. This is not [...] writing enlightened by Thoth’ (G00M34).

The second simply reads:

See the coward (G00M28).¹⁸⁷

The first graffiti is located on Wall C in the south chapel of Djoser, which suggests that it was within close reach of several other graffiti.¹⁸⁸ The text does not describe the monument itself nor does it mention offerings or petitions to the divine. It simply focuses on the skill of the scribe and his disgust at the other texts. This brings to the fore two important points. The first is that there does not appear to have always been a great amount of control exercised over what texts were written on temple walls as surely this would not have fitted with any pre-existing ideas. Secondly this text clearly shows the interaction between graffiti writers; this scribe saw his role as to read and respond to existing graffiti. His complaints are about the

¹⁸⁷ The exact translation of the word *hm* is uncertain; see app. 1 for further discussion.

¹⁸⁸ See above, ch. 2.3.2.1 for discussion of the location of the graffiti, and graffiti clusters.

poor writing skills of previous graffitists, and even his claim to be ‘excellent of fingers’ and ‘second to none’ may be seen as a response to similar claims in other texts.¹⁸⁹

The second example demonstrates even more strongly the lack of control that was exercised, at least at times, over the texts that were written on the monuments. While the word *hm* has been translated as bastard, weakling, and even poltroon¹⁹⁰ among other things, it clearly denotes an insult. It stands in great contrast to the predominantly respectful texts that are found throughout the temple and is reminiscent of the more subversive graffiti of the modern era.¹⁹¹ It may represent a personal opinion of a visitor to the temple in the vein of the Greco-Roman graffiti discussed by Zadorojnyi (2011: 112), which include vulgar phrases probably intended to shock the reader, for example, ‘Appolinaris, doctor to the emperor Titus, had a good crap here’ (Zadorojnyi 2011: 112).¹⁹² Such overtly vulgar phrases do not often appear in the Egyptian corpus,¹⁹³ but G00M28 may be seen as comparable. Zadorojnyi (2011: 110) suggests that ‘graffiti represent a trajectory of dissent’ and this text may be seen as an example of this in the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, a claim that is supported when one notes that it has not been signed by the author unlike the majority of other texts;¹⁹⁴ this implies that he wished to keep his identity a secret, or at least that proclaiming it was not a priority.

¹⁸⁹ G00M33, for example, includes a similar phrase, which shows that it was not unique to G00M34 (although these two texts are not in the same chapel, both are at the pyramid complex of Djoser).

¹⁹⁰ See app. 1 for discussion of this term.

¹⁹¹ See Lachmann (1988) for discussion of this concept; he writes (1988: 230), for example, that ‘subway graffiti writers are involved simultaneously in an art world and a deviant subculture’, thus emphasising the relationship between the artistic and the subversive. See also Ferrell (1996), which discusses the difficulties of graffiti culture in modern day Detroit.

¹⁹² The text itself reads, ‘Apolinaris medicus Titi imp his cacavit bene’ (Zadorojnyi 2011: 112).

¹⁹³ One exception to this is the pictorial graffiti in TT504 which purport to show Hatshepsut and Senenmut engaged in sexual activity (see Romer (1982: 157-160), Wente (1984: 51-54)) although, as noted, this graffiti is pictorial rather than textual and so is not entirely comparable.

¹⁹⁴ This is based on the assumption that several of the damaged texts did, indeed, include the name of the scribe.

Of course it may also be intended as a statement by someone who took no real note of where he wrote it but simply wanted to make his mark regardless of his location, thus giving it no connection with the monument itself. This does not undermine the possible subversive nature of the text, but perhaps its positioning within the Sun Temple of Userkhaf is not relevant and the reader should not take the graffito as representing the author's feelings towards this particular monument. Possibly this author visited the monument for recreation rather than because of any real interest in its history, and so his graffito was more akin to the defacement of a monument by a casual visitor than a deliberate attempt to mark the site of a royal ancestor.

If this were the case then one must guard against emphasising the importance of the monuments as places of historical interest or personal devotion, giving them instead the role of 'tourist attractions' or sites of entertainment and amusement.¹⁹⁵ One graffito in the corpus, in particular, supports this hypothesis, recording that the graffitist:

came to amuse [himself/themselves] upon the desert of Memphis (G00M31).

This suggests that the primary aim of the visit was enjoyment rather than historical interest or personal devotion. If the desert in which the royal memorials were built was, in fact, used by Egyptians as an area for recreation then individuals may have visited, not due to a strong interest in the monuments themselves, but simply because they were there and gave them an activity with which to occupy their free time. In this light the negative texts discussed above may simply be the result of disinterested visitors who, unlike the majority of graffitists, were

¹⁹⁵ See above, ch. 2.3.2.2, for discussion of monuments as tourist sites.

not overawed by the wonder and beauty or did not copy other texts that they found there, but simply wrote exactly what they were thinking at the time.

A final possibility is that these monuments were viewed as a place wherein visitors could undertake a range of processes; devotion to a royal ancestor or god, gaining historical knowledge and understanding, or simply airing views and documenting opinions. While, for most visitors, these processes led to the writing of relatively formulaic graffiti, for some it led to less standardised texts such as the two noted above. In this sense, these graffiti should be seen as being a true demonstration of personal thoughts and feelings rather than simply copies of standardised formulae.¹⁹⁶ Far from being anomalies, perhaps it is these two texts which demonstrate the true importance of the graffiti, as a form in which visitors to these great monuments could record their ideas and reactions in a public and lasting way.

2.3.6. GRAFFITI FOCUSING ON THE LIVING KING

Two graffiti focus on the deeds of the living king.¹⁹⁷ The first describes the actions of the current pharaoh before going on to speak of the monument the scribe has travelled to see, beginning:

The King of [Upper and] Lower Egypt, Men<kheper>ra, son of Ra, Djehutymes-Neferkheper[u], who lives forever and ever. While His Majesty was in Syria [... he trampled the lands of the Fen]khu and the Hurrians in their place according to the command of his Father, Amun-Ra, king of the gods (G05M06).

¹⁹⁶ See above, chs. 2.3.3. and 3.1.3. for discussion of decorum and standardisation of texts.

¹⁹⁷ A third text mentions only the living king but it is too short to be certain if this was the titulary at the beginning of longer inscription or if the focus of the graffiti was on Tutankhamun; 'Horus, [strong] bull [...] from [his] father [...] Tutankh[amun ...]' (G12M22).

The second focuses solely on the actions of the living king, including the lines:

Now his majesty was in the Southern city making memorials to his father Amun-Ra,
and marvels for Harakhte, and ... his city; Atum who created [him], Lord of
[Heliopolis] ... his father who begot him, the divine god, self-generated; the Mighty
Bull, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Atum ... the gods (G05M09).

Four further graffiti include long odes to the living king as part of the dating formula. They are found at the memorial complex of Sneferu at Meidum,¹⁹⁸ for example one that reads:

Year 30 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatra, Son of
Amun who satisfies Maat, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, Lord of Strength, Ruler of
Joy, who loves the one who hates lies, who puts (his) male offspring on the seat of his
father, who establishes his inheritance [in] the land (G09M19).

These texts show a different focus to the other graffiti. They create a connection between the living king and royal ancestors by using the monuments of deceased pharaohs to praise the achievements of the current one. Halbwachs (1992: 73) claimed that ancestors only survive in the memory if they remain ‘at least fictitiously in contact’ with the living; by praising the achievements of the reigning king on monuments dedicated to royal ancestors, graffitists emphasised connection between the living and the dead thus maintaining this ‘contact’. Such texts could also show that these monuments were primarily seen as ‘belonging’ to the living

¹⁹⁸ G05M06, G05M13, G06M14, G09M17.

king; rather than being achievements of past rulers they were simply part of the landscape of the living king and, therefore, bore testament to his achievements.

Kantorowicz (1997: 316) has suggested the concept of a king who ‘never dies’ based on the ‘perpetuity of the dynasty, the corporate character of the crown and the immortality of the royal Dignity’. Perhaps graffiti linking past and present pharaohs may be seen in a similar vein; as confirming a sense of continual kingship in which the eternal king does not die but is simply represented by different individuals over time. As the holder of the royal *k3* the living king was connected with those of the past and, in a sense, acted as a representative of his ancestors.¹⁹⁹

Even the simple act of dating a graffito to the living king, thus placing his name on the monument of his ancestor, may have been enough to connect the reigning pharaoh with them. As can be seen in the corpus a large proportion of the graffiti include a dating to the current king,²⁰⁰ as was the standard form for dating a document. It was not, therefore, unusual to use this dating formula, but this does not change the fact that it created a connection between the reigning pharaoh and the ancestor on whose monument the graffito was written.

The connection of the living king with royal ancestors who were represented by monumental memorial architecture could act as a potent legitimising force for the state. This link was encouraged by the restoration of ancient monuments by New Kingdom individuals.²⁰¹ The best known of these restorers is Khaemwase, a son of Ramesses II, to whom is attributed

¹⁹⁹ See above, ch. 2.3.4.3, for discussion of the royal *k3*.

²⁰⁰ See app.3 which shows that eighteen Memphite graffiti include a dating to the living king, while the lack of this in others may in several cases be due to damage.

²⁰¹ Earlier examples can be found in the restoration inscriptions of Djehutinakht, who left texts in the tombs of prominent local nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period, thus linking himself to them (de Meyer 2005).

restoration work at several sites.²⁰² The Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II (Lichtheim 1976: 39-43) also shows a desire by kings to link themselves with impressive royal ancestors and their monuments; although this stela primarily shows an interest in connecting Amenhotep II with the Great Sphinx itself, it also created a connection between this king and the memorial monuments of Giza, of which the Sphinx was part.²⁰³ In leaving this stela Amenhotep II laid claim to this site, setting up his continuing link with the kings of the past and with their gods. Further official attempts to link the living and past kings are found in the New Kingdom royal scarabs which grouped current kings with those of the Twelfth Dynasty.²⁰⁴ Cults of royal ancestors, which are attested sporadically in the Memphite region²⁰⁵ but which are better recorded in the Theban region, also encouraged this link. In particular festivals such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley²⁰⁶ and the later Min Festival²⁰⁷ drew a link between the reigning king and his ancestors in a public setting, thus encouraging the acceptance of the pharaoh as the legitimate successor to the crown.

Royal memorial monuments were an important part of this process of legitimation. They were a highly visible part of the Memphite landscape and, as the graffiti show, were visited by groups and individuals for a variety of reasons.²⁰⁸ The interaction through monumental architecture, between the Egyptian people and royal ancestors who were so closely linked

²⁰² See, for example, Snape (2011) who discusses the restoration work of Khaemwase. Although slightly later than the period in focus, it provides a clear example of the restoration of royal monuments.

²⁰³ The stela does, in fact, mention the burial places of Khufu and Khafra and notes the wish of the king to 'make their names live' (Lichtheim 1976: 42).

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Hayes (1959: fig. 24) which connects Amenhotep I and Senwosret I, and Murnane (1977: 222) who lists some examples. D. Redford (1986: 165-190, in particular 171) also discusses kinglists and the interest in the past by kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

²⁰⁵ See above, ch. 2.3.4, for discussion of offering formulae and cults.

²⁰⁶ See ch. 4.4 for discussion of this festival.

²⁰⁷ See LD iii: 162-163, which shows a scene of the Min Festival from the Ramesseum, as discussed by D. Redford (1986: 34-36).

²⁰⁸ As already discussed, the motivation for visits may have included historical interest, devotion to a royal ancestor, teaching, and enjoyable days out.

with the living king, would surely have acted to support the ruling authorities. The graffiti left at these sites acts as testament to the personal importance attributed to such interactions.

2.4. THE THEBAN GRAFFITI

Graffiti relating to royal ancestors is less common at Thebes. In fact, only six relevant examples have been identified.²⁰⁹ Three are in tomb TT60 at Sheik Abd el-Qurna; two of these date from the early-mid Eighteenth Dynasty²¹⁰ while the date of the third cannot be specified within the Eighteenth Dynasty.²¹¹ The fourth graffito comes from TT504 at Deir el-Bahri and dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.²¹² The final two are in KV43 (the tomb of Thutmose IV) in the Valley of the Kings and record the restoration of the tomb during the reign of Horemheb.²¹³ All of the texts are found in tombs. Various categories can be identified within this corpus which will now be discussed in turn; graffiti naming the owner (or perceived owner) of the tomb, graffiti including an appeal to or for royal ancestors, restoration graffiti, and graffiti which date the monument.²¹⁴

2.4.1. GRAFFITI NAMING THE ‘OWNER’ OF THE TOMB

Similar to the discussion of Memphite graffiti, this study will look first at texts which purport to identify the owner of the tomb. Two graffiti at Thebes do this; one in TT60 names Queen Sobekneferu of the Twelfth Dynasty:

²⁰⁹ See map 1 for the location of the sites.

²¹⁰ G00T01 and G00T02.

²¹¹ G00T39.

²¹² G00T25.

²¹³ G14T23, G14T24.

²¹⁴ See app. 3 for details of which graffiti are included in each category.

Coming of the scribe [... to see?] this tomb [...] of Sobeknefer[u]. He found it like heaven in its interior. (G00T01).²¹⁵

The second graffito, in KV43, states that:

His majesty, life, prosperity, health, commanded to cause the fanbearer on the right hand of the king ... Maya ... to repeat the burial of King Menkheperura, true of voice, in the noble house on western Thebes (G14T23).

The graffito in TT60 is particularly interesting as its allocation of the tomb to Queen Sobekneferu is wrong.²¹⁶ This tomb, in fact, belongs to the vizier of Senwosret I, Antefoker and his mother Senet (Davies 1920).²¹⁷ It is possible that the scribe mistook the name of Antefoker's wife, Satsasobek, for that of the Middle Kingdom queen (Peden 2001: 68), which would mean that the inclusion of the queen's name was simply a result of misreading, possibly linked with the dominant position of Antefoker's mother Senet in the tomb.²¹⁸ Yet if this was the case then one is left with the question of how the graffitist knew the name of

²¹⁵ It is possible that the text originally referred to the tomb as being from 'the time of' Sobekneferu, but the lacuna makes it difficult to confirm this (see app. 1). As this is uncertain, the graffito has been included under the category of naming the tomb's owner rather than as allocating the tomb to a specific date. Furthermore, even if the text did include the phrase 'of the time of', it still implies and ownership of the tomb by Sobekneferu.

²¹⁶ A second graffito in the same tomb states the tomb is 'of the time of Sobekneferu' (G00T02); it is likely that this graffito was written at the same time as the one which attributes the tomb to the queen as the two are written next to each other on the north wall of the monument, and may be suggesting the same ownership of the monument.

²¹⁷ It is notable that several graffiti do record the name of Antefoker (see Davies et al. (1920: 28-29[6, 31, 33, 36])). Note that where 'Davies' is referenced to in this study it refers to Norman de Garis Davies. When his wife is referenced, she will be referred to as 'Nina Davies' (or 'N. Davies') to differentiate.

²¹⁸ Ragazzoli (2013: 3) has, in fact, given Antefoker a secondary importance in the tomb, placing Senet as the primary owner. This idea has been supported by Den Donker (2012: 32, n. 34) who writes that 'the scribes probably mixed up the name of the queen and Antefoker's wife while under the influence of the predominance of Senet's figures in the decorative programme of the chapel and of the royal kiosk scene near the entrance'.

Sobekneferu.²¹⁹ He certainly did not copy it from the tomb itself as it is not there. One is left, therefore, with the conclusion that the scribe knew of Queen Sobekneferu before he visited the tomb and incorrectly identified her with it.

There are no confirmed monuments of Sobekneferu at Thebes²²⁰ (although this does not preclude there having been such constructions) and the main source of knowledge of her in modern Egyptology comes from the temple of Amenemhat III at Hawara, where there may have been a shrine dedicated to her.²²¹ Sobekneferu was a successor of Amenemhat III who had strongly advocated the importance of Sobek as a god linked with kingship, particularly the ‘theme of the legitimacy of the royal power by the divine world’ (Zecchi 2010: 42-43); evidence of this cult has been found throughout the Fayyum²²² and so it is possible that the cult of Sobek of Shedet and its link to the ideology of kingship was recorded at other sites in Egypt. Sobekneferu furthered the supremacy of Sobek of Shedet during her reign, and her name with the epithet ‘beloved of Sobek of Shedet’ is included alongside that of Amenemhat III on several monuments (Zecchi 2010: 84-88). It is, therefore, quite possible that Egyptians who had visited the Fayyum area would have been aware of Sobekneferu and would have linked her with the important crocodile god of the Middle Kingdom, possibly even recognising the aforementioned connection between Sobek of Shedet and kingship. Furthermore, certain New Kingdom royal figures also adopted the epithet ‘beloved of Sobek of Shedet’; notable examples are Thutmose III and Teye (Zecchi 2010: 109), which would

²¹⁹ Presuming that it was not simply copied from G00T02, although the same question would then apply to this text. It is likely that the two graffiti were written together, and so the question of how either scribe knew the name is relevant.

²²⁰ It should be noted, however, that her name is included in the Karnak kinglist of Thutmose III (see, for example, Prisse d’Avennes (1847: pl. i), D. Redford (1986: 29-34)).

²²¹ Zecchi (2010: 85) notes that Sobekneferu’s cartouches appear frequently at Hawara; see, for example, Petrie et al. (1890: pl. 11[11]) which is a block found at Hawara that includes the name of Sobekneferu (see also, Pignattari (2008: 73)). Pignattari (2008: 88) also notes some statue fragments which bear her name at Tell el-Daba.

²²² See Zecchi (2010: 37-53) for details of this evidence.

have again kept this deity in the consciousness of some Egyptian people, for example through its inclusion in temple inscriptions. Although not explicitly naming Sobekneferu, therefore, it is possible that her memory was retained through her link with the god Sobek.

This graffito demonstrates that there was knowledge of royal ancestors at Thebes, even ones who did not have monumental memorial structures in the vicinity, and that there was a desire by individuals to demonstrate this knowledge. Perhaps the lack of graffiti on monumental memorial structures at Thebes, therefore, is more due to a lack of accessibility than a lack of interest; the memorial monuments at Thebes were overwhelmingly linked to kings of the recent past (i.e. the Eighteenth Dynasty)²²³ whose memorial cults were in all likelihood fully functioning, thus preventing their being easily visited by people outside of temple cult personnel. This contrasts with the more accessible royal monuments in the Memphite area.²²⁴ Later graffiti by temple personnel in the Theban area, such as the graffiti on the Khonsu temple roof at Karnak,²²⁵ demonstrate that those who worked in memorial cults did leave their marks, but examples have not been found dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty in the area; perhaps, then, the marking of functioning memorial temples was discouraged in the period, leaving only private tombs at Thebes as potential tableaux.

There are many examples of written or pictorial graffiti dating to the early-mid Eighteenth Dynasty in TT60 (Peden 2001: 68).²²⁶ It would appear, therefore, that the age of the tomb encouraged visitors to it, some of whom even used its artistic motifs as inspiration for

²²³ With the exception of the Eleventh Dynasty Temples at Deir el-Bahri (See PM I: 381-401).

²²⁴ See below, ch. 2.5, for more discussion of this.

²²⁵ See Jacquet-Gordon (2003); the Khonsu Temple roof graffiti are discussed in more detail below.

²²⁶ The three that have been included in this study are the only ones that contain mention of a royal ancestor.

depictions in their own tombs.²²⁷ Yet TT60 is a rock cut tomb and, although it arguably had impressive decoration it was of no more aesthetic value than most Theban tombs, and certainly was not visually impressive on the scale of the Theban memorial monuments. This would imply that visiting this tomb was not simply a reaction to its grandiose appearance; the perceived link to Sobekneferu, or to Senwosret I,²²⁸ may therefore have served as motivation to visit this tomb over others in the area.

Yet despite the modest scale of this tomb, two of the relevant graffiti found there, G00T01²²⁹ and G00T02, still included the phrase, well known from the Memphite graffiti, ‘like heaven in its interior’. These are the only two graffiti in the tomb which include this phrase.²³⁰ That it is found in several examples from royal memorial complexes at Memphis²³¹ as well as in the two graffiti which attribute this tomb to Sobekneferu suggests that it may have been used primarily to describe monuments which belonged to (or were believed to belong to) royal figures.²³² This lends weight to the theory that the texts described the monuments as they were supposed to appear rather than how they appeared.²³³ It is also possible that the authors of these two graffiti at Thebes had, in fact, visited the Memphite region and seen the graffiti on monuments there, choosing, therefore, to copy phrases that they had seen. Although it is not possible to confirm this in the context of these specific texts, the movement of Egyptian

²²⁷ Peden (2001: 68-69) notes the example of Amenemhat, who owned TT82, and who appears to have used scenes from TT60 as models for scenes in his own tomb.

²²⁸ The link to this king is discussed below, see ch. 2.4.4.

²²⁹ This graffiti is discussed in more detail below, see ch. 2.4.4.

²³⁰ Of course the damage to many of the graffiti makes it difficult to say for certain that this is the case but it seems likely that this phrase was not common among the other texts.

²³¹ This has been discussed above, ch. 2.3.3.

²³² Verhoeven’s discussion of tomb N13.1 at Asyut may provide some contradiction to this; this tomb is not royal but includes the stock phrases discussed in this study. It did, however, belong to a local nomarch, who had was likely viewed as being ‘royal’ to those who lived in the same region, and appears to have become a place of homage (Verhoeven 2012).

²³³ See Navrátilová (2006: 88).

officials and tradesmen through Egypt make it likely that the same people visited monuments in more than one area. The Memphite graffito G05M11, for example, includes the phrase:

coming of the scribe, child of the southern city, Baki (G05M11).

This clearly shows a graffitist in the Memphite region who originated from Thebes,²³⁴ and it is possible that more individuals also came from Thebes to Memphis and vice-versa, thus allowing for the migration of phrases such as the one discussed above.

As noted above, the second graffito which identifies the owner of the tomb is found in KV43. It was written by Maya, who was employed to restore the burial of Thutmose IV. Little can be added to the discussion from this graffito; Maya's knowledge of the owner of the tomb is easily explained by the fact that he was employed to restore this specific burial. It does, however, support the idea that graffitists chose to include the name of the owner of a royal monument when it was known to them.²³⁵

2.4.2. GRAFFITI INCLUDING AN APPEAL TO ROYAL ANCESTORS

TT504 at Deir el-Bahri, which is thought to be an unfinished Middle Kingdom tomb,²³⁶ includes several graffiti.²³⁷ One of these (G00T25) is by the *wꜥb* Nebwaw, who was active in the memorial temple of Thutmose I, and dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty (Peden 2001:

²³⁴ 'The Southern City' can reasonably be understood as being Thebes (see Wörterbuch: 211).

²³⁵ The importance of this graffito as a 'restoration text' is discussed in more detail below (see 2.4.3.).

²³⁶ See Peden (2001: 72) and Wente (1984: 47) for discussion of the date of the tomb.

²³⁷ See, for example, Wente (1984: 51) who notes five graffiti on the east wall of the tomb.

73).²³⁸ This text is a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula addressed to a selection of deities (including Ra-Horakhty, Osiris, Hathor and the necropolis gods) but is also addressed to Thutmose I and Thutmose III (Peden 2001: 74):

Offering which the king gives <to> Ra-Horakhty, <to> Osiris ... <to> Anubis ... <to> Hathor ... <to> the wives of the gods, <to> the divine women, <to> Anet, <to> the southern residence, <to> the northern residence, <to> the gods who are in the divine necropolis, <to> the king Aakheperkara, <to> the king Menkheperra (G00T25).

This text is not the only one in this tomb which includes the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula and so may be seen as formulaic, but it is the only one which includes addresses to royal ancestors.

The inclusion of Thutmose I in the formula can be explained by Nebwaw's position within his memorial cult; he notes that he is a 'w^cb and scribe of the temple of Aakheperkara'. As such, it is likely that he was familiar with rituals pertaining to Thutmose I and so the dedication to this king is probably related to his experience within the cult.²³⁹ However, the mention of Thutmose III is not so easily explained. Although the dating of this text cannot be confirmed, if Peden's suggestion of late Eighteenth Dynasty is accepted then the graffito was created at least one-hundred years²⁴⁰ after the death of Thutmose III which precludes his reign being a part of the living memory of Nebwaw. It is possible that Nebwaw also held, or had held, a position within the memorial cult of Thutmose III during his lifetime and so may be acknowledging both kings that he had the honour of serving. Unfortunately the lack of other monuments linked to Nebwaw means that this cannot be confirmed. Or perhaps the inclusion

²³⁸ See app. 1 for discussion of the dating of the graffito.

²³⁹ Royal memorial cults will be discussed in more detail in ch. 4.

²⁴⁰ This is based on the assumption that the 'late Eighteenth Dynasty' relates to the period after the Amarna Period.

of Thutmose III in the inscription is linked to the temple of Thutmose III close to TT504.²⁴¹ The temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri was active until after the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty,²⁴² and so it may have served as a source of information for those who visited the private tombs in this area as well as encouraging them to revere this specific king.²⁴³

By addressing the formula to Thutmose I and III alongside a selection of divine beings Nebwaw connected these two kings with the gods; the kings were seen as protectors of the necropolis in the same way that the traditional deities were. One could argue that the temples dedicated to royal ancestors alongside deities, created a link between the two in the minds of the Egyptian people that they expressed through graffiti such as the one found in TT504. As noted above, the division between royal and divine temples was not exact, and it is probable that many people did not see a difference.²⁴⁴

2.4.3. 'RESTORATION' GRAFFITI

Two graffiti from KV43, the tomb of Thutmose IV, are written beside each other on the wall of the tomb chamber. The first states the graffitist, Maya's, purpose as:

²⁴¹ Porter and Moss (PM I.II: 658) write that TT504 was located 'in a corner high above the north colonnade of Hatshepsut Temple' at Deir el-Bahri; Porter and Moss (PM II: pl. xxxiv) shows the location of the Thutmose III temple remains in comparison with the temple of Hatshepsut, thus demonstrating the close proximity of TT504 to the temple of Thutmose III.

²⁴² A text found on a statue and dated by Ricke to the late Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, records the owner as having worked at the memorial temple of Thutmose III (specifically naming *Hnkt-ḥnh*), which demonstrates the active nature of the cult in the later New Kingdom (Ricke 1939: 39-40). Further titles in Theban tomb TT31 list the owner as holding positions in the cult of Thutmose III, although they do not explicitly name the temple (see Haring (1997: 434-435), Ricke (1939: 39-40)).

²⁴³ With regards to Hatshepsut's temple at the same site, it is worth noting that in many cases her name has been removed from the record and so it is possible that the temple was no longer commonly known as being built by her. Forgetting is discussed in more detail in ch. 5, with particular attention to Hatshepsut in 5.4.1.

²⁴⁴ See, for example, Haeny (1998: 86-90).

to repeat the burial of King Menkheperura, true of voice, in the noble house on western Thebes (G14T23).

The second text simply adds the name of the assistant:

His assistant, steward of the Southern City, Djehutymes, son of Hatiay, his mother Yeweh of the city. (G14T24).

Here the interaction between the texts is clear, with the master writing his and the assistant adding an addendum. Although separate texts, they can be understood as a collective endeavour, most likely written at the same time. Both men wanted to mark their role as preserving the burial place of the king; this was not a private visit but a professional one, with the reason for the visit emphasised in the first graffito. This supports the hypothesis that graffiti in ancient Egypt were not viewed as subversive or anti-establishment, but that it was an accepted form of representation, used widely to mark one's presence in a particular place both as a private individual but also, sometimes, as a representative of the state.²⁴⁵

Furthermore these texts clearly show that the state placed importance on protecting and restoring the tombs of royal ancestors. Tombs were inspected on at least a semi-regular basis with another tomb, that of Tutankhamun, also being restored towards the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Peden 2001: 143).²⁴⁶ The state valued not only the memory of royal ancestors but the actual resting place of deceased pharaohs. These tombs were lieux

²⁴⁵ Links can be drawn with the military graffito found at Dura-Europos which was left by representatives of the state (see Baird (2011: 56-58)).

²⁴⁶ Reeves (1990a: 97) notes a jar stand in the tomb of Tutankhamun on which is a graffiti recording the name of Maya's assistant, Djehutymose, leading to the conclusion that this tomb was also restored around the reign of Horemheb. This is discussed in more detail in ch. 5.4.3.

de mémoire; while the exact position of New Kingdom tombs was not known by the majority of Egyptian people (indeed, the intention of the rock cut tombs was likely to keep them hidden from the populace and from potential tomb robbers) the valley itself was probably known to be the resting place of royal ancestors and, as such, functioned as a site of memory which the state wanted to protect.²⁴⁷

Of course, the fact that the tomb had been robbed shows that the aims of the state were not always followed by the populace; tomb robbers targeted royal tombs for their treasures with little regard for the pharaohs that were interred there. They also knew the exact locations of royal tombs despite the intention of the state to keep them a secret. Therefore, while the valley was a place of memory for the state, the tombs themselves remained in the memory of some Egyptians not as revered sites but as repositories of valuable objects which could be stolen and perhaps sold.²⁴⁸

2.4.4. GRAFFITI DATING THE MONUMENT

One graffito from TT60 begins:

The scribe Bak <came> to see the tomb <of> the time of Sobekneferu (G00T02).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ The high numbers of graffiti in the area around this valley suggest that it was seen as an important place and received high numbers of visitors in the New Kingdom. It is, however, difficult to be certain if the graffitists were 'tourists' to the site or if they visited for other reasons (see, for example, Černý et al. (1969-1970)). However, due to the lack of graffiti which can be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty and which can be explicitly linked to the royal burials (i.e. that name a royal individual or are in undeniably close proximity to a burial) these graffiti will not be discussed in more detail.

²⁴⁸ The changing role of the tomb from a place of memory to a repository of objects taken and sold by tomb robbers is looked at in more detail in ch. 5.4.3 (in particular see chs. 5.4.3.2 and 5.4.3.3).

²⁴⁹ As already noted, G00T01 may originally have contained a similar phrase.

A second from the same tomb reads:

Coming of the scribe Djehuty, true of voice, to see this tomb of the time of
Kheperkara (G00T39).

These texts focus on the fact that the tomb was built during a specific reign. It is quite possible that the graffitists gained knowledge of this from the decoration and texts within the tomb itself; cartouches clearly show the link between the owner and Senwosret I, to whose reign G00T39 dates it.²⁵⁰ It is also possible, however, that the graffitist knew the date of the tomb before he visited it, and it is likely that many visitors were attracted by its ‘great age’ as noted by Peden (2001: 68), although whether this amounted to a knowledge of the exact date of the tomb or simply an awareness that it was ‘very old’ is uncertain. The other graffito, G00T02, attributes the tomb to the reign of Queen Sobekneferu who ruled in the later part of the Twelfth Dynasty which, as already noted, is incorrect.²⁵¹ As previously noted, this may have been based on a misreading of other texts within the tomb or it is possible that the graffitist knew the (albeit incorrect) date of the tomb before he visited.

As noted above, Ragazzoli (2013: 23) has suggested that the reference to Senwosret I may have been influenced by literary genres that were popular at the time, such as the Teaching of Amenemhat and the Tale of Sinuhe. If this were the case, then perhaps the date of the tomb was known, and popular interest in the king in whose reign it was built led to an increased desire to visit it.²⁵² However, whether or not the graffitist knew the date of the tomb before he visited the site does not detract from the fact that he chose to remark on it in his graffiti.

²⁵⁰ See, for example, Davies et al. (1920: pl. xvi), which includes a cartouche of the king.

²⁵¹ The incorrect designation of this tomb to Queen Sobekneferu is discussed in more detail above, see ch. 2.4.1.

²⁵² Ragazzoli (2013: 23) adds that its ‘prominent position’ and ‘exceptional state of conservation’ may also have encouraged visitors.

Perhaps the scribe saw the tomb as an example of the glory of the reign of Senwosret I (or Sobekneferu) or wanted to show his knowledge of history or royal genealogy.

It is also possible that those who included the date of the tomb were simply remarking on its great age using the most commonly used dating device, the regnal year. The Egyptian dating system was organised so that the majority of dates, when recorded, alluded to the king. Any reference to the past, therefore, contained a memory of a past king and any dating to the present day included note of the current pharaoh. These two texts do not include a full regnal date (i.e. day *n*, month *n*, year *n* of the reign of king *N*) but it does demonstrate that there was no way of referring to a specific date or time period without reference to a king; Egyptian dating did not function in simple years but in regnal time. The king was at the centre not only of Egypt but of time itself.

2.5. CONCLUSION

The majority of graffiti in this study are found at Memphis. They occur primarily on royal memorial monuments although a small number, at Thebes, are found in private and royal tombs. This distinction is likely due to the fact that the Memphite monuments were more accessible to the public;²⁵³ they were considered, by the Eighteenth Dynasty, to be ancient monuments more akin to tourist attractions than functioning memorial cults. This contrasts with the more recent monuments at Thebes of which many were still functioning memorial

²⁵³ Graffiti is found in similarly accessible structures at other sites from the ancient world, such as in houses at Pompeii and in military and domestic structures at Dura-Europos (see, for example, (Baird (2011: 56-64), Benefiel (2011)). Graffiti can also be found in functioning cult places at Dura-Europos, for example, but they primarily relate to the rituals that took place in the structure and were clearly left by individuals who had visited them to take part in the rituals (Baird 2011: 64); such texts may be seen in a similar light as the Egyptian graffiti which include prayers or offerings (although the Memphite memorial structures were not functioning memorial temples at the time that the graffiti was left, the content of the graffiti which include prayers or offerings suggest a ritual aspect to the visit).

temples, thus leading graffitists in this area to leave their marks in tombs. Instead of being seen as functioning cultic spaces, the Memphite sites may, therefore, have been visited for historical interest, touristic curiosity or architectural wonder. Such an explanation also explains the lack of graffiti at Amarna; here, there were no ancient monuments or tombs for private individuals to record their visits in. All temples were functioning cultic centres that honoured the living king, and even private tombs were not more than a generation old. Yet offering formulae in some of the existing graffiti suggest a more complex explanation.

The varied contents of the graffiti and the different emphases, as highlighted in this chapter, suggest that there were a range of motivations both for visiting and for marking the monuments; to attempt to narrow it down to one single cause would be to grossly underestimate the complexities of Egyptian society, and the individual interests and foci of the Egyptian people. As previously mentioned, the majority of descriptive graffiti date to the Eighteenth Dynasty as do the majority of correctly identified monuments (Navrátilová 2006: 94).²⁵⁴ This suggests that an interest in the past existed among the non-elite from the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with a desire to understand and communicate knowledge about the history of Egypt.²⁵⁵ Alternatively the visits could be viewed as part of the recreational activities of the Memphite Egyptians; they visited the monuments in much the same way as modern tourists visit sites, partly out of interest but also simply for amusement.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ As opposed to the Nineteenth Dynasty where prayer formulae and incorrect identifications are more common. This can be linked to an increase in personal piety in the Ramesside Period (Navrátilová 2006: 95), which led to historical inaccuracies, as opposed to the Eighteenth Dynasty which was more focused on knowledge of the past.

²⁵⁵ Of course, this contradicts Assmann's view that the Ramessides were 'revealing the past' (Assmann 1991: 303-313), and suggests that an interest in history may actually be found in the earlier part of the New Kingdom.

²⁵⁶ The social aspect of graffiti is discussed again below, see ch. 2.5.2.

The words of many graffiti suggest, furthermore, that the reasons for visiting were more than that of simply seeing an impressive building. Texts that state the intention of the owner to visit a specific site and which, then, describe awe and wonder suggest that the graffitist visited knowing the identity of the builder and, once there, offered up praise to him.²⁵⁷ Navrátilová (2006: 95) states that a ‘practical religious interest in the communication with the dead is present in the Egyptian tradition as a *longue durée* phenomenon’,²⁵⁸ which would suggest that the graffiti were a form of communication with the dead rather than simply being commemorative. Jacquet-Gordon (2003: 5) suggests a further element, adding that by leaving a mark on the temple of a revered deity, one was assuring the protection of that god for as long as the temple stood; perhaps the graffiti on the monuments of royal ancestors may be seen in a similar light, placing the graffitist under the protection of these great kings of the past. These monuments must, therefore, be seen as more than historic artefacts; they should be viewed as *lieux de mémoire* which kept alive the memory of past kings, the ancestors of the pharaoh, and encouraged continued interaction with them.

2.5.1. GRAFFITI AS A POLITICAL TOOL

It has already been noted that graffiti may have been used by representatives of the state, such as the military, to take possession of spaces at other sites in the ancient world such as Dura-Europos (Baird 2011: 56-58). Perhaps, then, graffiti should be seen as a political weapon that allowed the state to reassert its control over a specific place. The monuments of deceased kings were, by definition, connected with the state but this link could, over time, have lost some of its potency. Graffiti, therefore, that marked royal monuments with the name of the

²⁵⁷ For example G05M07.

²⁵⁸ For more on this idea see Baines (1987: 86-88).

current ruler, such as through a dating formula, acted to reaffirm the monument as a site of state control; the graffiti called attention to the living king and contextualised the site with regards to the current ruling elite. Whether or not graffitists were acting in an official capacity as representatives of the state, or if this was simply an unintended side-effect of an otherwise unconnected practice, is uncertain.

The Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II does, however, record that the king visited the memorial monuments of Khafra and Khufu when he visited the site at Giza (Lichtheim 1976: 42). This shows that kings did visit ancient sites and also that they wanted to record these visits for future visitors to see.²⁵⁹ By leaving this stela, Amenhotep II claimed a link with the kings of the Giza pyramids and put his own mark at the site, encouraging a connection with it. Although this does not prove that the state supported the leaving of graffiti, these acts may have encouraged others to record their visits as well, sometimes in the form of graffiti.

Marking a site of historical and symbolic importance with the name of the living king asserted his control over that site, and linked him with important rulers of the past. As such, it could be a powerful method of legitimisation. While official inscriptions may have been more impressive, graffiti was more easily accessible to visitors (as demonstrated by the continued stream of graffiti left at these sites), and so may have been a more effective tool of legitimisation than even official inscriptions.

²⁵⁹ An inscription at Deir el-Bahri also records the visit of Hatshepsut, along with her father, Thutmose I, to the shrines of the gods of Egypt (Naviile 1898: 2-3, pls. lvii, lviii). Although the focus here is on gods rather than past kings, it again demonstrates a practice of visiting important temples and shrines as a way of legitimising the ruling line.

2.5.2. GRAFFITI AS ‘LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE’

Alongside its wider context, graffiti must, however, also be understood as commemorative of a specific moment in the life of the author. Ragazzoli (2013: 21) writes that these texts commemorate ‘acts of coming, socialising and visiting’, and this aspect of graffiti should not be forgotten.²⁶⁰ The texts were left by an individual, or group of individuals, to memorialise a visit to a monument. They held a private and individual importance. But, over time, the graffiti became a part of cultural memory, passing on a specific idea of the place in which they were written.²⁶¹ This can be seen most clearly in tomb TT60 at Thebes, where graffiti helped to create a belief that the tomb belonged to Antefoker rather than to Senet (Ragazzoli 2013: 23). Here, a clear memory relating to the tomb was developed and transmitted via the texts added to the walls of the monument.²⁶²

Furthermore, C. Taylor (2011: 98) suggests that clusters of graffiti can be understood as being sites of social memory, as places which ‘become important for the formation, negotiation and contestation of individual as well as group identities’. As such, one must view the graffiti not only as marking sites of memory, but as important sites of memory in and of themselves. Graffiti can act as a ‘memory trace’, bridging the gap between the past and the present; one can be aware of the past simply ‘by virtue of a trace in the present’ (Keegan 2011: 170), the material markers of cultural memory. Keegan (2011: 184) goes on to suggest that ‘graffiti traces produce a coherent narrative sense of a personal past’ and that they, therefore, are not the product of an isolated individual memory which have been constructed after the event, but are in fact their source, ‘the instruments used in acts of recall’. It is here that one finds the

²⁶⁰ See Ragazzoli (2013: 21) for discussion of the ‘grammar of memorialisation’.

²⁶¹ Ragazzoli (2013: 23) notes that the adding of individual graffiti over a period of time, thus creating a kind of ‘time line’, causes the texts to ‘move from individual memories to social memories’.

²⁶² See Ragazzoli (2013: 23-24) for discussion of specific terms relating to the ‘lieu’ of the tomb.

‘social frameworks of memory’ of Halbwachs (Keegan 2011: 184). While important for the study of ancient Egypt, this idea relates to the wider study of graffiti across ancient, and more modern, societies.

It is important to look at the audience of graffiti to understand more fully the message and even tactics of the graffitist. While graffiti in some ancient societies could be seen as furtive,²⁶³ the majority of graffiti in Egyptian memorial contexts was not. The same is true of graffiti in other ancient cultures, for example the texts noted from Dura-Europos and Pompeii.²⁶⁴ In each of these cases, they were written in highly visible places at sites which were open to visitors. Furthermore, the graffitists usually signed their work and so anonymity was not desired.²⁶⁵ Therefore, these visitors’ graffiti must be seen as an attempt by the scribe to make a public statement visible both to private individuals and the state. Perhaps this is why it followed such recognisable norms and formulae.

Far from being subversive, the creation of graffiti was a social event, a collective moment.²⁶⁶ Two graffiti at Memphis and one group at Thebes clearly state that they have been inscribed by, or on behalf of, more than one individual,²⁶⁷ for example one graffito that names five men (and may have originally included more):

²⁶³ See Zadorojnyi discussion on secretly written graffiti in the Roman world (Zadorojnyi 2011: 125).

²⁶⁴ See, for example, Baird (2011) and Benefiel (2011), although it should not be assumed that dissenting ancient graffiti was absent from these sites.

²⁶⁵ See app. 3 for a record of which graffiti included the name of the graffitist.

²⁶⁶ Rather than being something that marks a site, graffiti-writing should itself be seen as an event, suggesting that ‘if writing is an event which becomes an object, the interpretation of graffiti turns the object into an event again’ (Baird and Taylor 2011: 6). For more discussion, see Harris (1995: 39).

²⁶⁷ Again, see app. 3 for details of which texts include multiple authors.

The coming of the] royal herald Amu[n]edjeh to see this pyramid, the brewers [and] the assistants [...]mpet, Amenhotep, scribe Mentuhotep, scribe Djehutyem[hat, Humesh ...] scribe [...] (G05M06).²⁶⁸

The importance of the graffiti was not simply in the text itself but in the act of writing it, and the audience was not only those who read it in later years but those who were present at its creation. Graffiti created a sense of community ownership of the site to which any visitor could add himself; the use of the term ‘scribe’ for many of the graffitists supports this hypothesis.²⁶⁹ Mairs (2011: 153-154) suggests that a king ordering the creation of monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions on temple walls was expressing similar concerns as a private individual writing his name on a monument or rock surface. The act of creating royal inscriptions declared the king’s ownership of the site, and so perhaps these ‘private’ graffiti should not be seen as so very different to the state inscriptions that are found alongside them.²⁷⁰

Graffiti should not be seen as static markings but as dynamic processes by which the marks were made at one point and then interacted with all those who viewed them, thus linking the viewer with the graffitist (C. Taylor 2011: 98).²⁷¹ It is probable that people were encouraged to leave graffiti at certain sites simply by the existence of other similar texts. This can be seen

²⁶⁸ A second suggests an educational visit as it is written by a teacher and a scribe (G05M08), while the third group is that of KV43, which is written by a master and his apprentice (G14T23, G14T24).

²⁶⁹ The use of the term ‘scribe’ is discussed in more detail above, see ch. 2.3.1.

²⁷⁰ This is, perhaps, clearest in graffiti which express ritual acts that were undertaken by private individuals in state contexts; as shown these graffiti can be found on Egyptian monuments, but they also occur in other cultures such as in sanctuaries at Dura-Europos (Baird 2011). More comparison needs to be done with ancient graffiti in other contexts, however, such as the often bawdy texts from the Roman world (Zadorojnyi 2011); can similar motivations still be found, relating to ownership of the space and the communication of group identity and beliefs?

²⁷¹ Livingstone (2011: 27) discusses role of inscribed epigram in classical Athens; he writes that through reading the texts, visitors take part in a ‘re-enactment of elements’ of the burial rituals. This act endows the person who is being commemorated with a place in the cultural memory of the community. These texts invite visitors to interact with them, although he does question how often this would have happened in actuality (Livingstone 2011: 31-34).

both in Egyptian contexts and in other cultures, for example the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii (see Benefiel (2011)). C. Taylor (2011: 95) suggests that making one's mark 'situates the individual within a place at a moment in time, but also situates them within a group of people or a community', and that the marks that are made over a period of time imply a 'process of legitimisation' by the group (C. Taylor 2011: 97).²⁷² As such, graffiti do not only represent the individual but the community as a whole. They are a collective addition to the memory of the site. Ragazzoli (2013: 22) writes that visitors' graffiti can be understood as 'commemorative artefacts that build shared memories for the community', and the act of inscribing graffiti on the walls of the monument serves to 'claim' the monument for the community (Ragazzoli 2013: 25).²⁷³ As such graffiti played an important role for the graffitist both as an individual memory and a marker of communal identity. As will be discussed throughout this study, royal memorial sites played an important role in developing this sense of group identity which, in turn, acted as a legitimising force for the state. Furthermore, graffiti reaffirmed these ideas continually, for all of those who might visit the site in the future.

²⁷² One may also see graffiti as 'the result of a desire to ... add one's own contribution and to join in the conversation' (Benefiel 2011: 32). Therefore, copying other graffiti or adding phrases to one's own to ensure a degree of 'one-upmanship' cannot be discounted.

²⁷³ Ragazzoli, here discussing TT60, refers to the community of scribes.

CHAPTER 3. MEMORY AND IMAGE

The graffiti discussed in the previous chapter demonstrate written memory of royal ancestors; they are remembered in a somewhat abstract form, as a set of symbols within a cartouche, perhaps as the holder of specific epithets or the doer of certain deeds. But they are not recognisable as people, as tangible human figures. The depictions discussed in this chapter fill this void. They are memories based on the image of individuals; the focus is on the representation of a royal ancestor.¹ In a place where levels of literacy were low² memory cannot rely solely on texts but must be supported by imagery which is accessible to literate and illiterate alike.³ Schäfer writes that ‘art is one of religion’s most important means of communication’; despite the use of the word ‘religion’, the importance of art in communicating ideas and values cannot be denied.⁴ This chapter will look at how tomb depictions of deceased royal figures acted as lieux de mémoire within the community, retaining and communicating the memory of such individuals, and supporting a cultural memory based around them.

¹ Luiselli (2011), for example, notes the importance of analysing the processes by which cultural memory may be developed through visual sources as a compliment to previous studies on written sources.

² Baines and Eyre (1983: 90) suggest that there were approximately twenty people at Deir el-Medina who were fully literate; it is likely that the literacy at Deir el-Medina was higher than in many other places as it was populated by skilled workmen and artisans. Janssen (1992: 82) disagrees, however, stating that a larger number of people were either literate or ‘semi-literate’ (a person who could read simple texts but was not competent in writing). This was discussed further in the previous chapter, see ch. 2.1.4.1).

³ The level to which art was accessible to different people in society is discussed in more detail below. At this point it is sufficient to acknowledge that art is more universally accessible than writing, although, as noted in the previous chapter, texts are not necessarily entirely inaccessible to the illiterate (see ch. 2.1.4.1).

⁴ He later refers the importance of art more directly to royal power, writing that ‘Egyptian kings understood early the power of art to propagate their fame and act as a symbol of their stable power’ (Schäfer 1986: 61).

3.1. UNDERSTANDING ART

3.1.1. THE ‘MEANING’ OF ART

The analysis of depictions is complex; certain points, therefore, will be acknowledged. The key concepts which must be discussed are those relating to its understanding, namely, what is the ‘meaning’ of art? Does any artistic work have one objective interpretation or can it mean different things to different people? And consequently, if meaning *can* be ascribed, how is this accessed by the modern scholar? Before discussing Egyptian tomb art, it is important to address these issues, so as to recognise the potential interpretations of the depictions included in this chapter and the limitations to this.

What, therefore, is the meaning of art?⁵ Does a work of art have an intrinsic meaning or does it possess ‘as many meanings as viewers’ (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 1). While art history has often been preoccupied with understanding the meaning of art, thus suggesting that there is one objective meaning, the multitude of approaches that have been taken and interpretations that have been put forward lend some weight to the idea that there is no one meaning to any piece of art; interpretations change depending on the viewer. One proponent of this theory is Mieke Bal who suggests that art has no meaning until it is seen, and then the interpretation varies depending on how it is viewed (Bal 1991: 12-13).⁶ If this is the case, then it is important to be aware of one’s own cultural context and the ways in which this may affect

⁵ See Hatt and Klonk (2013: 1), who ask this question in the opening paragraphs of their book on art history.

⁶ As a follower of the semiotic school of art history, Bal’s emphasis was on the signs within art and how they can be read. Mirzoeff (1999: 13) criticises the semiotic approach to understanding art, arguing that it divides interpretation into two parts; what can be seen and what is meant. He argues that this binary approach fails to recognise the complexities of how signs develop and how they are interpreted by viewers. See also Hatt and Klonk (2013: 214-215) who write, based on Bal, that art shouldn’t be understood ‘as a given with a meaning, but as a effect, a set of all possible meanings.’

understanding of any work of art.⁷ One should not, however, assume that there are infinite meanings to any piece of art, as the intentions of the artists and the context in which it was created should be taken into account; perhaps, instead a distinction should be made between the intention of the artist and the multitude of potential meanings for the viewer.⁸

If one accepts, therefore, that while there may not be one objective meaning in a work of art, there are key meanings that can be accessed through established frameworks, one is next led to question how these meanings may be found.⁹ The art historian Panofsky (1962: 5-7) is a key figure when looking at the meaning of art and introduced the ‘iconographical-iconological method’.¹⁰ His work, which remains strongly influential, suggests that there are three levels on which the iconography of images can be described;¹¹

1. The ‘primary’ or ‘natural’ meaning.¹²
2. The ‘secondary’ or ‘conventional subject matter’.¹³

⁷ This is discussed in more detail in the remainder of this section.

⁸ Gombrich (1972: 15-16) suggests that there may, in fact, be only one meaning to a piece of art as ‘symbolism can only function in support of ... the dominant meaning’, by which he means that the meaning found within a depiction can only be fully understood in the context of the intended meaning of the piece as a whole; here, the emphasis is on the intention of the artist, giving priority to the meaning that he or she endowed the image with. Hatt and Klonk (2013: 1) support this viewpoint, writing that ‘some [interpretations of art] are better than others’, meaning that while there may be a multitude of ways of understanding a work of art, not all of these interpretations are equally valid and should not be given the same weight. It is here that methods of art history are important to the modern scholar in order to access valid interpretations.

⁹ While ancient Egyptians may have had other intentions in creating images, such as representing themselves to the gods and ensuring their survival for eternity, the different levels of meaning within the images can still be found and so it is pertinent to discuss them.

¹⁰ This drew from earlier theorists such as Aby Warburg and Ernst Cassirer (see Hatt and Klonk (2013: 96)). Warburg championed the approach of ‘critical iconology’ (see Ferretti (1989: 50-51)) which has been seen as the precursor of Panofsky’s own methods, while Cassirer noted the importance of symbolic forms (Ferretti (1989: 100-109) which, again, influenced the later work of Panofsky (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 98-101).

¹¹ Panofsky defines iconography as ‘that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning, as opposed to their form’ (Panofsky 1962: 3). A table setting out the three levels and their relationship to the interpretation of art can be found in Hatt and Klonk (2013: 109).

¹² This encompasses both the ‘factual’ meaning (i.e. recognising objects, forms etc.) and the ‘expressional’ (which requires the use of empathy based on practical experience to identify expressional qualities within the image) (Panofsky 1962: 5).

¹³ This looks at the connection of artists’ motifs with themes or concepts (Panofsky 1962: 6). It requires the interpretation of gestures, customs etc. (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 107).

3. The 'intrinsic meaning' or 'content'.¹⁴

Panofsky (1962: 7-9) points out that in order to understand the intrinsic meaning one must first understand secondary meaning, which requires an appreciation of and familiarity with cultural conventions such as gestures. In order for this to be possible it is necessary to clarify the primary meaning which is based upon recognition of the factual features of the scene.¹⁵ Panofsky's ideas have been subjected to criticism over the years,¹⁶ but the primary criticism focuses not on the theory as such but on the fact that it consists of too few 'levels'.¹⁷

The analysis of depictions according to the iconographical-iconological school, therefore, is not simply a case of recognising the images and discussing them, but is a complex process by which each layer of iconography must be uncovered and analysed before moving on to the next. While it may be relatively easy to identify the factual meaning of an object or person within an Egyptian tomb depiction due to pre-existing knowledge of Egyptian motifs,¹⁸ analysing the iconography at the second and third levels can prove to be more of a challenge. In order to analyse the iconography of an image, one must look beyond one's own experience to take into account the artistic context of the image; it should be understood as a part of a

¹⁴ This is 'apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work' (Panofsky 1962: 7).

¹⁵ Panofsky also refers to these three levels as 'pre-iconographical', 'iconographical in the narrower sense' and 'iconographical in the deeper sense' (Panofsky 1962: 8-9). His synoptical table helps the reader to understand the three levels as well as pointing out some of the factors which may restrict the art historian (Panofsky 1962: 14-15).

¹⁶ See P. Taylor (2008).

¹⁷ P. Taylor (2008: 1-2), for example, has proposed ten levels of description relating to what an image depicts, represents, illustrates and symbolises as well as defining its purpose. He notes that it is important to be aware of the distinction between the various terms, 'depiction', 'representation' and 'symbolism' when discussing images (P. Taylor 2008: 2). See P. Taylor (2008: 2-10) for discussion of these terms in relation to early modern European art.

¹⁸ Wollheim (1991: 142) suggests, however, that if one cannot see what is to be seen within a depiction without being told then one will not see it even after having been told; this questions the validity of using learned knowledge when discussing the meaning of art.

larger artistic (and literary) pattern,¹⁹ thus building up a picture of the wider cultural landscape.²⁰ This ‘cultural landscape’, in turn, cannot be understood without acknowledging the wider cultural context.²¹ In order, therefore, to analyse a work of art it is important to look at it in the context of the society in which it was created, incorporating the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of that society.²²

Of course it is debatable to what extent depictions can ever be fully ‘understood’. Bahn writes that ‘the only person who can really tell us what a particular image or set of images ... was meant to depict is the person who made it’ (Bahn 2008: 15),²³ thus focusing on the primary

¹⁹ As Panofsky notes, while ‘our practical experience is indispensable ... as material for a pre-iconographical description, ... it does not guarantee its correctness’ (Panofsky 1962: 9). He goes on to write that ‘while we believe ourselves to identify the motifs on the basis of our practical experience pure and simple, we really read ‘what we see’ according to the manner in which *objects* and *events* were expressed by *forms under carrying historical conditions*. In doing this, we subject our practical experience to a controlling principle which can be called the *history of style*’ (Panofsky 1962: 11). An understanding of the ‘history of style’ is important for completing the first level of interpretation as set out by Panofsky, the primary meaning (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 107).

²⁰ See Panofsky (1962: 15-16) for discussion of the ‘history of types’ and the ‘history of cultural symptoms’ which may be seen as developments of the ‘history of style’.

²¹ Bryson (1991: 65), for example, notes that the recognition of signs is a social phenomenon; he writes that ‘when people look at a representational painting and recognise what they see, their recognition does not unfold in the solitary recesses of the sensorium but through their activation of codes of recognition that are learnt by interaction with others’. In other words, one’s understanding of signs and symbols in art is affected by one’s cultural and social surroundings. The importance of the cultural context of art has been raised by art historians from many different schools; as early as the Eighteenth Century theorists such as Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Joachim Winckelmann argued that art was a product of the culture of the artist (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 22), and this idea has been key to art history since. Mirzoeff (1999: 37-38), furthermore, suggests that art has come to be understood not as a literal depiction of objects but as representational; it is not necessary that art closely resembles the real, but simply that viewers recognise what it represents. This knowledge is based on social constructs. It is not possible to discuss here the ways in which different schools of art history have incorporated these ideas, but the idea of context can be found in a wide range of theories relating to the history of art including the Iconological, Feminist, Marxist, Social Historical and Semiotic schools (see, for example, Hatt and Klonk (2013) who discuss each of these approaches).

²² In the introductory part of his book on the artist Courbet (Clark 1999: 9-20), the social art historian T. J. Clark set out the idea that in order to understand a piece of art one must examine a wide range of contextual information and social relationships including those of the artist, ideology, politics, economics and historical structures; art historical theories are of no use unless they take into account the social context of the work. He notes (1999: 12-13), however, that while it is important to understand art in its social context, one must not become constrained in this view, and he treats it with caution. See also Hatt and Klonk (2013: 134).

²³ This view is supported, for example, by Wollheim (1991: 101) who claims that in order to understand painting it is necessary to begin from the point of view of the artist; of course, he also notes that the perspective of the spectator must not be ignored and that the artist him/herself may also be seen as a ‘spectator’. Furthermore, Bryson (1991: 64-65) discusses the perceptualist viewpoint which relies on ‘secret and private events, perceptions and sensations occurring in invisible recesses of the painter’s and the viewer’s mind’, thus reminding one that the viewer cannot be certain that their perception of a work of art is the same as that of the artist; the two

meaning as set out by Panofsky.²⁴ Bahn was, in fact, talking about ancient rock art and while the primary meaning of Egyptian tomb art tends to be more accessible than that of rock art,²⁵ it must be remembered that no work of art can be understood entirely objectively as each depiction has been affected by the artisan(s) as well as the desires of the patron.

The secondary and intrinsic meanings should not, however, be ignored, which requires an appreciation of the wider cultural context. Egyptian art was created on the assumption of some knowledge by the viewer; by this it is meant that they were created in the context of a specific society, wherein its members would have recognised images or symbols as representative of larger ideas. The depiction of a king may have evoked memories of royal festivals, or of rituals relating to that individual, without the need to depict the entire event or context.²⁶ There may, therefore, be meanings attached to depictions that are not explicit but are accessed through the collective experiences of the community. Furthermore, the ‘meanings’ of depictions may have changed depending on who saw them; they do not necessarily remain static (Bahn 2008: 16), and this again, must be remembered when analysing the evidence in this chapter.²⁷ While the creator of an image may, as Bahn suggests,

perceptions may be overlapping but it is not possible to be certain of this fact. This highlights one of the difficulties in attempting to understand works of art in their original context if the original intent of the artist can be seen as the ‘objective’ meaning of a work of art. As discussed above, it is debatable whether a work of art can be said to have one meaning or if, in fact, there are multiple possible interpretations, each equally valid.

²⁴ Bahn (2008: 15) notes an interesting case study wherein an aboriginal researcher identified a number of images using his own zoological knowledge; yet when his results were compared with that of an Aboriginal informant it was found that the researcher had only been even superficially correct about seven of the twenty-two images. Studies such as these, while perhaps being less applicable to Egyptian art, are reminders that one cannot assume that ancient depictions conform to modern norms or ideas. Of course, he goes on to note that one can assume some similarities in the motivations for creating depictions (decorative, narrative, informal, for the ‘sheer pleasure’ of creation) as they were created by ‘human beings exactly like ourselves in everything but knowledge’ (Bahn 2008: 18).

²⁵ Due to the usual inclusion of writing alongside images which help to describe the image. Egyptian tomb art also occurs in a context that is more generally understood than rock art.

²⁶ See, for example, Schäfer (1986: 43-44). This is discussed more below, see ch. 3.6.1.1.

²⁷ Schäfer (1986: 37) notes, further, that Egyptian art does not have the same meaning for the modern audience as it did for its ancient viewers; a key difference is, he writes, that for the Egyptians ‘figures could not only have aesthetic qualities but also those of *living beings*’. The ability of images not only to represent, but actually to create, in a sense, the person depicted, gave them an importance and power that images in the modern world do

be the holder of the intended primary meaning, (s)he is not the owner of the only meaning, which develops and changes with each viewing. Mirzoeff's study of visual culture supports this,²⁸ writing that it is not defined by the physical medium but by the 'interaction between viewer and viewed' (Mirzoeff 1999: 13). This places the emphasis on the active interaction between the person viewing art and the art itself, rather than seeing art as having a meaning independent of those who see it.

The final hurdle that must be approached is the question of whether a modern audience can ever claim to understand the art of an ancient one.²⁹ The issue of understanding the culture of societies that are removed either in time or in space is one for which there is no definitive answer.³⁰ There are two extremes that can be suggested when attempting to answer this question: the first is that there is a universal thread that links all cultures, past and present, that allows for studies to draw accurate conclusions;³¹ the second is to admit that there is no connection between cultures and that one must view these societies as an outsider.³² Freedberg (1989: 431), for example, writes that modern scholars cannot see old art in its full context because 'we have seen and learned too much', which emphasises the difficulty of attempting to understand art in the context of a culture that is so far removed from one's own. Surely, therefore, one must find a middle ground in which distant cultures may be understood

not have. This way of understanding art is foreign to modern scholars, but must be recognised when studying the images in Egyptian tombs.

²⁸ Visual culture is defined as 'any form of apparatus designed to be looked at or to enhance natural vision' (Mirzoeff 1999: 3).

²⁹ Mirzoeff (1999: 58-62), for example, suggests that even societies of the recent past attribute meanings that are not followed in today's world; he notes the perception of white as conveying physical beauty in Nineteenth century sculpture, a symbolism that is not overtly recognised only two centuries later.

³⁰ It is not possible to elaborate greatly on the so-called 'Hermeneutic Problem' in this study, but see, for example, Gadamer (1990) for discussion of the issues.

³¹ Hegel's 'Absolute Idea' provides an early form of this concept (see Hatt and Klonk (2013: 24)). Hatt and Klonk (2013: 243) suggest that this approach fails to appreciate the distinctive nature of cultures and, through this, risks 'becoming a kind of colonisation'.

³² There are, again, issues with this extreme which reduces the study of other cultures simply to a 'compelling story' (Hatt and Klonk 2013: 243).

whilst acknowledging a degree of subjectivity and cultural bias based on the social context of the scholar. It is through looking at art in the context of the society in which it was created that this middle ground can be found; no society can be fully understood by an outsider, but it is possible to achieve a valid interpretation of that society's culture, which includes its art, through gaining an understanding of the social and cultural situation which gave rise to it. This is important when looking at Egyptian culture, which is far removed from that of modern Europe.

3.1.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF WRITING³³

There is a close link between image and writing in Egyptian culture. Baines (2008: 99), for example, notes that 'writing is intrinsic to Egyptian pictorial art and statuary'. The two are not, however, interchangeable.³⁴ Writing found in Egyptian art, therefore, forms a part of the composition and, while sometimes commenting on an aspect of the depiction, its prime intention is to accompany and to complement the composition.³⁵ Levels of literacy in New Kingdom Egypt were relatively low³⁶ but the vast majority of pictorial compositions³⁷ included at least some writing. While it is reasonable to assume that the majority of people who could afford decorated tombs were at least semi-literate³⁸ it is likely that the inclusion of

³³ This is in contrast to the semiotic understanding of art history, wherein a linguistic method is used to analyse art, decoding it as one would a literary work (Hatt and Klonk (2013: 200-222), Bryson (1991)). In this study the emphasis is on the actual interplay of words and text.

³⁴ Baines goes on to suggest that the organisation of Egyptian art usually differentiates between the two, stating that 'writing relates more or less strongly to language and thence to its prime medium of sound, whereas representation operates through the sense of sight and visual processing, so that they overlap only in specialised ways' (Baines 2008: 99).

³⁵ Although one might argue that, in fact, the composition was intended to complement the text.

³⁶ See above, ch. 2.1.4.1, for more on literacy in ancient Egypt.

³⁷ This term is used by Baines (2008: 100).

³⁸ Those who could afford such tombs would have been members of the upper and middle classes, or professionals who would have had access to some form of education (or would at least have been exposed to written forms). Alternatively, if they were not literate, they would likely have had acquaintances who were, particularly in the case of women whose literacy levels were likely to have been lower.

texts in compositions was not simply so that they could be read. Indeed Baines (2008: 100-101) suggests that the compositions were intended to fulfil a need for a ‘perfect’ cosmological environment and that the inclusion of writing was an important part of this.³⁹ This is supported by compositions in which areas were marked out for writing but never filled, which suggests that these spaces were intended simply to symbolise writing (Baines 2008: 101).

Examples of hieroglyphs being adopted as a part of the image further demonstrate the lack of distinction between text and depiction in Egyptian art; for example the *ʿnh* sign moves from being a hieroglyphic sign to an object which would be included in depictions in its own right and, as Baines (2008: 104), notes, also an amulet. Within depictions it usually understood as *di ʿnh* (giving life) and as such retains its textual meaning within the context of the image. The line between ‘text’ and ‘image’ becomes further blurred when one encounters ‘active’ hieroglyphs; one such examples is a *w3s* sign ‘in a dancing pose of jubilation’ in a relief that shows the king completing a ritual run (Baines 2008: 104), wherein the hieroglyphic sign adopts human limbs in order to become part of the image.

Bryan (1996: 161), however, suggests that while text and depictions are considered concurrently, if one takes each separately one may, in fact, find two contrasting messages.

These messages would have been accessible to different viewers depending on their levels of literacy.⁴⁰ The complex relationship between text and image in Egyptian art must, therefore,

³⁹ He writes (2008: 100-101) that they were ‘created in order to fashion a cosmologically perfect environment that the gods could receive with joy and inhabit [rather] than that viewing was a major purpose of [their] creation’ and that ‘writing was considered essential to proper pictorial representation, irrespective of whether it could actually be read by anyone but a deity’.

⁴⁰ Bryan (1996: 161-164, fig. 1) uses the example of a stela from Abydos to illustrate this, contrasting the lunette scene with the text on the rest of the stela. She notes that the message for those who could not read the main text would have focused around positive images of kingship and Wepwawet. In contrast, those who could read the full text would have found information regarding the illegality of building tombs in the vicinity while allowing such constructions in other areas; the message here was of the power of the king and his ability to grant favour when he wished.

be acknowledged; accompanying texts and signs should not be ignored but meanings of art should be sought that are not entirely dependent on an understanding of the related texts. This study will focus on the pictorial parts of the compositions, but will take into account aspects of the texts that were interwoven with them, such as epithets.

3.1.3. THE CONTEXT OF THE SCENES

As discussed above, the context of art is key to interpretation; this relates both to the social and cultural context and to the more literal context. While the graffiti discussed previously are found almost exclusively on royal monuments the depictions studied here are in private tombs; as immovable parts of the decoration, most of them remain in their original location. It is, therefore, possible to analyse the landscape in which the depiction was created which may allow a better understanding of the image itself.⁴¹

It is arguable that while graffiti were the results of a spur of the moment decision to mark the walls of a monument and were, therefore, informal representations of memory,⁴² tomb depictions were the result of careful planning by the tomb owner or artisans. Egyptian people spent a great deal of time and expense preparing for the afterlife and the creation of a tomb was a key part of this.⁴³ Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that care was taken over what was depicted in order to create the best possible result. The time taken to create the decoration of an Egyptian tomb also allows for the possibility that there may have been a higher level of state control over what was included; tombs were both lasting and highly visible and so it would have been in the interests of the state to ensure that their content acquiesced to

⁴¹ See Bahn (2008: 18-19) for more on this idea.

⁴² See chs. 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 for discussion of the informal nature of graffiti.

⁴³ See, for example, Cooney (2007), who discusses the many different aspects of funerary production.

appropriate ideas. The concept of decorum, therefore, must be taken into account.⁴⁴ As already noted, Baines defines decorum as ‘a set of rules defining what may be represented ... in which context and in what form’ (Baines 1990: 20),⁴⁵ while Sorenson (1989: 21) classifies decorum as ‘social restrictions to divine access’,⁴⁶ thus emphasising its social basis, and also the importance of restricting powerful knowledge and access. In both understandings, decorum played a part in ensuring that a desired understanding of the world was propagated and reinforced.⁴⁷

If fixed ideas did exist, the question of how they were enforced, and the degree to which they were adhered to, remains. It is probable that pattern books were used by artisans to guide the depictions that they included in their work.⁴⁸ If these existed then it is likely that they showed only scenes which were considered to conform to accepted values, thus propagating the ‘decorum’ put forward by Baines. Wachsmann (1987: 24), however, suggests that the master scenes were not copied exactly, but were used as a template from which the artisan developed

⁴⁴ This may be equated with Assmann’s fifth characteristic of cultural memory, which relates to a ‘clear system of values and differentiations in importance which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols’ (Assmann 1995: 131).

⁴⁵ He notes (1990: 6) that ‘knowledge is an instrument of power’ and is, therefore, a valuable resource. As such he attributes it a ‘legitimizing function’ (Baines 2007: 15).

⁴⁶ Sorensen (1989) discusses the ways in which restricted access and decorum played a part in Egyptian art and culture in the pharaonic period, arguing that the distinction between elite and non-elite in terms of divine access gradually faded in a process of ‘democratization’.

⁴⁷ According to Baines (2007: 16), decorum had a key role to play in ‘representing the proper order of the world’. Studies of decorum in later periods of history have also emphasised the role of artistic pieces as ‘guides to appropriate behaviour’ and ‘socially acceptable conduct’ (Ames-Lewis 1992: 12), and as signifying ‘what was fitting’ (Gombrich 1972: 7).

⁴⁸ Wachsmann (1987: 12-25) suggests the possibility of such pattern books from which tomb decoration may be copied, writing that these ‘collections of master drawings would theoretically have contained the archetypes of the familiar “stock scenes”’ (Wachsmann 1987: 13). Wachsmann (1987: 12-17) includes references to other works on the same topic, including Furumark (1950: 233) who suggested that tombs were not accessible to later artisans and so books must have been used, and Schäfer (1986: 62) who appears to accept their existence. Vercoutter (1956: 197-199), in contrast, argued against the existence of pattern books. Wachsmann (1987: 13) also suggests an alternative, wherein artists visited existing tombs and copied scenes from them. This is discussed in more detail below. See Wachsmann (1987: 17-25) for an analysis of a stock scene, in which the possibility of a pattern book is analysed. He concludes (1987: 24) that ‘there must have existed some form of master drawings which laid out the various elements of each scene’. It is, however, important to note that no pattern books have been identified in archaeological evidence and so this remains a theory based on the evidence of tomb decoration.

a decorative scheme; this, he argues, allows for the variation found in the decoration of Egyptian tombs. The implementation of decorum through this medium, therefore, should not be seen as all encompassing, but as general guidance.

It is likely, therefore, that standardised formulae of what was appropriate for inclusion in tomb depictions were adhered to and the norms of representation followed.⁴⁹ The direct involvement of the state in the building and decoration of tombs, however, does not appear to have been high; surely if tomb decoration was checked by state officials there would be more evidence of corrections to designs or of the erasure of images that were deemed unsuitable.⁵⁰ Instead, as already noted, influence may have been exerted through the control of standardised formulae,⁵¹ possibly in the form of pattern books or other master copies, and even through the centralised training of artisans.⁵²

Given that state control of tomb decoration was probably not total, and was issued in the form of guidance rather than specific direction, it is likely that individual personalities had an effect

⁴⁹ Bryson (1991: 66-67) supports this idea, relating it to power structures; he suggests that in order to understand art one must look first to the power structures of society, analysing who the ruling elite were and what ideology is used by these people to legitimise their power. He refers (1991: 66-67) to this phenomenon as the 'base', which he defines as looking at 'the questions of who owns the means of production and distribution of wealth, to what constitutes the dominant class, to the ideology this class uses to justify its power; and then to the arts, and to painting, as aspects of that legitimation and that monopoly'.

⁵⁰ Chauvet (2007) discusses royal involvement in the building of private tombs in the Old Kingdom, noting that there appears to have been little royal influence on the actual design of the tombs regardless of the need, in this period, for a royal concession to build such a monument (2007: 320). See also Schäfer (1986: 59-60) who discusses the possibility of a 'court' and a 'popular' style of art which may have existed aside each other, concluding that these attributions cannot be accurately applied in ancient Egypt. While similar studies have not been carried out in relation to tombs of the New Kingdom, it seems likely that direct state involvement was not the case in the building of individual tombs.

⁵¹ The inclusion of certain themes on state buildings, such as temples, may also have encouraged their use in private contexts. Luiselli (2011: 13-18) discusses the scene of the smiting king, noting that it is found on temple walls (and other official objects) throughout pharaonic history, but that it can also be identified on private objects, such as scarabs and votive stelae dated to the New Kingdom and later. This shows not only the development of cultural memory relating to the idea of a smiting king over a period of time, but also the movement of ideas from state to private contexts.

⁵² Cooney (2007: 131), for example, notes that the tomb builders of Deir el-Medina were trained by the state; they then carried out private requests in the time that they were not employed in their primary role. Although only one, arguably unrepresentative, site, this does show the role of the state in training men who would go on to produce private funerary monuments in the Theban area.

on tomb motifs.⁵³ The fact that only a small proportion of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs included depictions of deceased royal figures suggests that their inclusion was a matter of choice rather than of necessity, which points to the conclusion that while standardised forms may have been responsible for the general themes and ideas found in tomb decoration, specific scenes maybe attributed to individual preference.⁵⁴ The scenes should not, therefore, be understood simply as copies of official ideology, but as representations of individual preference in the context of Egyptian society, in which state ideas played a role.

When analysing tomb depictions it is important, therefore, to look at all aspects of the composition taking into account the levels of description discussed earlier⁵⁵ as well as the context both within the tomb,⁵⁶ in the wider landscape, and the social context.⁵⁷ Baines, for example, emphasises the need to look at the subject, iconography, style and function of Egyptian art,⁵⁸ which demonstrates the various pathways one must venture down in order to understand more fully the compositions within private Egyptian tombs and some of the issues that must be addressed. Tombs must not be looked at in isolation, both because their decoration was affected by the society in which they were created and because they,

⁵³ Schäfer (1986: 59) notes that a large proportion of grand works of art in ancient Egypt were due to commissions, so that both the artist and the patron would have had some influence on the finished piece. He goes on to write that 'some pictures in the entrances to tombs from the end of the Old Kingdom show that the part of the man commissioning the work was considerable', thus supporting Chauvet's suggestion that the majority of influence on such pieces was wielded by the owner of the tomb.

⁵⁴ Wachsmann (1987: 24) supports this hypothesis.

⁵⁵ The three levels of iconography will not be referred to explicitly during this chapter but the differing levels of meaning will be analysed throughout.

⁵⁶ The scenes that are found alongside those discussed are looked at below, see ch. 3.2.4.

⁵⁷ By which is meant what can be known about the society in which the scenes were created and how this may have affected them. See above, in this section, for further discussion of the importance of context when analysing art.

⁵⁸ He writes that 'features of [the] decoration need to be analysed in a variety of ways, among which are the study of subject matter, such as the actions performed, and iconography, notable elements of dress and accoutrement. The only route to an overall interpretation is through taking into account the functions of the tomb as a place of repose and return for the deceased, cult place, and meeting place with the living. As their owners' principle monumental projects, tombs must also have been a major loci of display and aesthetic interest during the last part of their lives and when they died ... In part because tombs relate to one another through chains of artistic connection as much as they relate to the simple aim of providing a place for the deceased's body, much in the decoration may be far removed from any narrowly defined programme' (Baines 2008: 107).

themselves, may have served as sites of memory.⁵⁹ But the aims of the tomb owner must also be addressed, to understand what particular motivations led to the inclusion of a specific decorative programme and the adoption of certain iconography. As already noted, such questions must be looked at while recognising the challenges of interpreting art and the issues of separating original meaning from subsequent ones (Graefe 1981: 72).⁶⁰

3.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE EVIDENCE

3.2.1. PARAMETERS OF THE EVIDENCE

Before looking in more detail at the evidence, it is important to discuss the parameters of the study. The first, perhaps obvious, limitation is that the evidence included in this chapter must be pictorial as the intention is to look at images of royal figures. That is not to say that there cannot be a textual element to the evidence,⁶¹ but that this must not be at the expense of the pictorial.

A second requirement is that the scenes were originally located within a private tomb. The aim of this study is to look at evidence from a private mortuary context and so only depictions that come from such structures have been included. Votive stelae have been excluded; although these may have been placed in private tombs, their links to the wider practice of

⁵⁹ For example, graffiti in TT60 show that Egyptians in later periods visited this tomb (Davies 1920: pls. xxxv-xxxvii); specific graffiti at the site, such as those included in this study recount the names of Senwosret I and Queen Sobekneferu, thus suggesting that the tomb served as a site of memory for these two individuals (even if the attribution to Queen Sobekneferu was incorrect, as was discussed above, see ch. 2.4.1) (see G00T01, G00T02, G00T39).

⁶⁰ See Bryson (1991: 72) for discussion and references, particularly relating to ‘anarchy of interpretation’ and above, ch. 3.1.1, for more detailed discussion of the issues relating to analysing art from a different cultural background.

⁶¹ See above, ch. 3.1.2, for discussion of the interplay of text and image.

leaving votives in shrines and the difficulty of ascertaining their original location means that they are not suitable for this study.

The final parameter, as discussed in the general introduction to this study, is that the royal individual depicted must be deceased. Although seemingly simple, this poses a challenge when looking at the evidence in this section. Many tombs are not dated securely, or have been dated to more than one reign. It is, therefore, often difficult to be certain that the royal figure shown was deceased at the time that the tomb was built. It has been decided, therefore, to take into account both the dating and the context of the scene. Where the date of the tomb is later than that of the king depicted,⁶² the scene is considered. These scenes are then studied for elements that clearly denote the royal individual as living, for example a scene in which the tomb owner receives honour from the king would explicitly represent an event from the life of the tomb owner where he was honoured by the reigning king. If no such elements are found, the scene is included although with caution where the status of the king is uncertain.⁶³

3.2.2. DEPICTIONS OF ROYAL ANCESTORS IN PRIVATE TOMBS

Images of royal ancestors in private tombs are not common in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Fourteen such images have been identified, of which eleven are at Thebes; four at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, four at Dra Abu el-Naga, two at el-Khokha, and one at the Asasif.⁶⁴ Of the final three scenes two are at Saqqara and the other at Amarna. Apart from two, which both appear

⁶² This includes tombs that have been dated to more than one reign but where the latest reign postdates that of the individual shown in the scene.

⁶³ See, for example, ch. 3.4 below, which addresses the possible coregency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten.

⁶⁴ A further scene is recorded in TT45 wherein 'Dhout and wife adore a Nefertem-emblem (supported by five kings) in a shrine' (PM I.I: 85). This tomb is dated to the reign of Amenhotep II. However, the tomb was usurped by Djutemheb in the Ramesside Period and the reading of the text accompanying this scene clearly states that the deceased 'owner' in question is, in fact, Djoutemheb (see Davies and Gardiner (1948: pl. vi)). See below, ch. 3.2.3 and app. 10 for more details of scenes which have not been included in the corpus.

in TT161, all are found in different tombs. Three of the scenes were not found in location but were part of the original tomb decoration rather than votive stelae and so they have been included in this section.⁶⁵

The earliest scene, found at Thebes and dating to the reign of Thutmose III, shows Ahmose-Nefertari standing behind Nephthys,⁶⁶ while the latest dates to the reign of Horemheb and shows the king with his queen, Mutnedjemet, offering to the god Osiris opposite a mirrored scene of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari offering to the god Anubis.⁶⁷

Other scenes include the pharaohs Menkauhor, Thutmose I, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Amenhotep III, as well as other royal individuals, namely the queens Ahmose-Inhapy and Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu, and prince Ahmose-Sipair. Menkauhor is depicted in the Memphite region and Amenhotep III is depicted at Amarna and Thebes, while the other individuals are found at Thebes. The scenes include images of the tomb owner before royal individuals,⁶⁸ the king (or queen) with the gods,⁶⁹ the king (and queen) offering to the gods,⁷⁰ and statues being dragged in procession.⁷¹

This shows the spread and variety of scenes which occur in the period. The number is low but several royal figures are included, although the majority show either Amenhotep I, Ahmose-

⁶⁵ D05T01, D00M13 and D00M14. The contexts of D00M13 and D00M14 are less certain, although Berlandini-Gernier (1976: 315) has suggested that D00M13 comes from the tomb of Thuthu. The provenance of D00M14 remains debated although it probable that it originated in a tomb, and is recorded by Porter and Moss (PM III.2: 821) as having originally been a part of tomb decoration and so has been included as such. As noted by Martin (2001: 101) many of the Memphite tomb chapels in the late Eighteenth Dynasty were decorated by stelae so it is quite likely that these stelae were originally located in tombs.

⁶⁶ D05T01.

⁶⁷ D14T12.

⁶⁸ For example D05T02 which shows the deceased offering to two queens, and D09T06, in which two mirrored scenes of the deceased offering to a king are shown.

⁶⁹ Including D05T01.

⁷⁰ For example, D14T12.

⁷¹ D07T03.

Nefertari or both. The scenes were created over a period ranging from the reign of Thutmose III to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and they can be found, albeit in varying numbers, at all three of the regions included in this study.⁷² The scenes from each of these three regions will be looked at in more detail below.

3.2.3. DEPICTIONS OF ROYAL ANCESTORS NOT INCLUDED IN THE CATALOGUE

Some depictions of royal individuals have been excluded from the catalogue despite their appearing to fulfil the necessary criteria. It is important to acknowledge these depictions and discuss the reasons for their absence before continuing with discussion of the corpus itself.

The first of these is found in TT A8 at Thebes which dates to the reigns of Aye and Horemheb. It shows the deceased with his family before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (PM I.I: 450). However, no photograph or drawing of this depiction has been found and so it has not been possible for any analysis to be carried out beyond the description given by Porter and Moss. For this reason this image has been left out of the catalogue.

A similar issue occurs with a depiction from TT C6, dated to the reigns of Thutmose IV – Amenhotep III. This picture, according to Porter and Moss (PM I.I: 458) shows the deceased before Thutmose IV who is in a kiosk. Again, without a photograph or drawing it has not been possible to confirm this description, and discuss whether the king is shown as a living or deceased figure, and so the image has been excluded.

⁷² See app. 7 for details of the dates at which each royal ancestor is depicted in private tomb scenes. There is no clear pattern, although more than half of the depictions occur in the reigns of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and Horemheb.

A third image is found in TT78, dated to the reigns of Amenhotep II – Amenhotep III. In this the cartouches of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III are shown above seven seated assessors in a scene of the weighing of the heart. Here, whilst there is a cartouche of a deceased royal individual (Thutmose III) there is no depiction of him and so, again, this scene has been excluded.⁷³

A final scene is in TT45. This tomb is dated to the reign of Amenhotep II but was usurped in the Twentieth Dynasty. A scene in this tomb shows the tomb owner and his wife before a Nefertem emblem which is held by five kings. This scene has been excluded for two reasons: the first is that the kings are not identified and so it is impossible to be certain who they represent; the second is that although Porter and Moss identify the tomb owner in this scene as Djout (PM I.I: 85), the texts alongside the depiction clearly identify him as Djoutemheb, thus placing the scene amongst the Twentieth Dynasty decoration and taking it out of the remit of this study.

3.2.4. THE LOCATION OF THE SCENES

Where the position of the scene within the tomb can be ascertained, all but one⁷⁴ are found in the hall, or pillared hall.⁷⁵ These areas of the tomb were open to visitors, unlike the inner sections of the tomb which were sealed once the burial had taken place and considered to be the realm of the dead (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 14). It is arguable, therefore, that these scenes

⁷³ The parameters developed for this chapter require that there is a depiction of the individual in question and not simply a textual reference.

⁷⁴ Scene D10T08 in TT192 is found in the passage between the vestibule and the court.

⁷⁵ It should, however be noted that many of the tombs included in this study consisted only of a hall and so the placing of the depiction in this room was not the result of a conscious choice, but simply due to the small size of the tomb; see discussion below for more details.

were included in the outer areas as they were considered less ‘sacred’ and so were unsuitable for the inner rooms.⁷⁶ The outer areas tended to house images of everyday life and secular themes. Royal festivals and processions may be included in this category, but only one scene in this chapter can be identified as being a depiction of a procession; the scene in TT93 shows offerings being brought before Amenhotep II, the living king, as part of the New Year’s festivities (D07T03).⁷⁷ This scene is similar to those found in several other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, which show gifts being offered to the living king⁷⁸ and it probably represents an event in the life of the tomb owner. What makes this scene stand out is the inclusion among the offerings of statues of two deceased royal figures, Hatshepsut and Thutmose I. It is, therefore, the sole explicit example of statues of deceased royalty within a scene taken from the life of a tomb owner.

Dodson and Ikram (2008: 221) suggest, however, that the majority of images of royalty including those of deceased kings alongside the living king are, in fact, depictions of events from the Beautiful Festival of the Valley;⁷⁹ if this were the case then they may all be classed as depictions of events from the life of the tomb owner, and it is possible that images of deceased kings without the living king may also be inspired by this festival. Only one scene, however, has a visible link with this festival; D14T11 in TT49, which shows the deceased offering bouquets to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, is on a pillar which also includes a depiction of the deceased going to the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. It is quite likely,

⁷⁶ Baines (2007: 16) discusses the possibility that certain motifs were seen as ‘incompatible’ in tomb decoration, thus meaning that certain iconographies could not be placed together. Baines does not refer to images of the king, looking instead at representations of the king as inanimate symbols, but it does raise the point that the positioning of scenes may have been due to considerations other than a preference between the public and private areas of the tomb.

⁷⁷ The New Year’s Festival is attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for example, in a festival calendar of Thutmose III at Karnak (see El-Sabban (2000: 29)) and is dated to the first day of Akhet; the calendar states that the festival lasted for one day and required oxen and a herd of bulls.

⁷⁸ Examples can be found in TT47 and TT48 (PM I.I: 87-88).

⁷⁹ This festival is discussed again below, see ch. 4.4.1.

therefore, that the scene of offering is a part of this same festival. Additionally, a scene beside D05T02 in TT53 shows a royal statue being carried and may be connected with a festival;⁸⁰ this scene does not state that it is part of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley but it is a possibility. This, again, increases the likelihood that D05T02 is also linked with this festival. Interestingly neither D05T02 or D14T11 include the living king but focus only on deceased royal figures, which implies that it is not only scenes of the reigning pharaoh that are derived from this festival.

The other scenes in the corpus, however, do not show such a clear connection with the festival; they occur alongside images of funerary activities⁸¹ and of the deceased adoring the gods⁸² amongst other things. It is possible that some of these scenes may have been related to the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, but this is not made explicit in the decoration and so it must only be seen as a theory.

Yet while most of the scenes do not explicitly show an event from the tomb owner's life, it is possible that they were inspired by such experiences, for example watching royal statues in festivals and rituals.⁸³ Dodson and Ikram's connection between such scenes and festival activity, therefore, is likely partially true even for those scenes that cannot be explicitly connected with them. Redford supports this theory, suggesting that the intentions of the artists who created these depictions were to represent a 'specific cult statue kept in a mortuary temple in the neighbourhood of the necropolis' (D. Redford 1986: 53). He points particularly to depictions of Amenhotep I where two forms can be commonly identified; Amenhotep 'of

⁸⁰ The statue is carried by a lector priest and is accompanied by the deceased with a staff (which, it should be noted, is carried by the deceased in TT49 when he goes to the Valley festival) as well as men with provisions.

⁸¹ D09T05, D14T12.

⁸² D09T06, D10T07.

⁸³ See below ch. 3.6.1.1.

the town’⁸⁴ (who wears the *ibs* crown with the occasional addition of the *3tf* and ram’s horns) and Amenhotep ‘the image of Amun’ (who wears the *hprš* crown) (D. Redford 1986: 53).⁸⁵ However, Redford goes on to suggest that this may not always have been the case; of an example in TT284 in which the kings depicted wear, in order, the white crown, the *ibs* and the red crown he writes that ‘here is an attempt to convey the notion of the plurality of crowns a cult image might wear’ (D. Redford 1986: 54-55).⁸⁶ It is possible, therefore, that instead of showing a specific statue that played a part in the life of the tomb owner, these depictions of royal figures were intended to represent an abstract idea, that of cult statues more generally, and the important symbolic role that they played in local life.⁸⁷

Dodson and Ikram (2008: 226), however, note that only eight private chapels at Thebes from the Eighteenth Dynasty have decorated substructures linked to them which means that it is difficult to be sure whether the assumption that images of royal ancestors only occurred in these areas is accurate or if it is simply a result of skewed evidence. The scenes looked at in this chapter all come from tombs in which no decorated substructure has been found. In fact, six of the Theban tombs discussed consist only of a hall so that the positioning of the scene within this room suggests nothing except that it was the only one that needed to be decorated. It is important, therefore, not to ascribe too much importance to the positioning of the scenes

⁸⁴ See, for example, TT2 in which Amenhotep I, who wears the *ibs* with horns and the *3tf*, is referred to as ‘*nb-t3wy Dsr-k3-R p3 dmi*’ (Černý 1927: 167, pl. i[i]).

⁸⁵ Redford here refers to the epithet translated by Černý as ‘of the beautiful name of ...’. The exact translation of the final sign is uncertain; Černý does not translate it, while Sadek (1987: 133) translates it as ‘favourite’ (*ibib*) (see, for example, Černý (1927: fig. 11), where it is shortened to ‘*p3 ibib*’, ‘the favourite’). Redford’s translation of ‘the image of Amun’ is presumably based on an extension of the epithet which ends *p3 (ib?) n Imn* (‘the (favourite?) of Amun’) (see Černý (1927: 168)).

⁸⁶ He cites the example of a determinative of *twwt* found in the Abusir papyri which shows three seated statues wearing the white crown, red crown and *nms* (Posener-Krieger and Cenival 1968: pls. 4-5). Von Lieven (2000: 103) also notes that the style of many posthumous depictions of Amenhotep I suggests that they represent statues of the king. She points, however, to a small number of Twentieth Dynasty amulets that show the king in a military pose; instead of being a direct copy of a statue these may be copies of stelae which depict the king as a protector of Egypt (von Lieven 2000: 112-113).

⁸⁷ The connection between cult statues and tomb depictions is discussed more below, for example, chs. 3.3.2 and 3.6.1.1.

within the outer sections of the tombs; while it is possible that they were considered to be suitable scenes for these outer sections, perhaps because of their links to everyday life, it is also possible that artisans simply placed the scenes on the walls of the only room that was adorned with depictions.

3.2.5. TOMB SCENES AND THE LIVING

Regardless of the reason for the positioning of these scenes, their inclusion in the open areas of the tombs meant that they could be seen by anyone who visited the tomb. This leads to the possibility that scenes were copied from one to another. As already noted, Wachsmann has questioned whether the inspiration for tomb scenes was taken from real life (primary) or copied from other depictions (secondary) (Wachsmann 1987: 4). He postulates two possible secondary sources; the first are ‘pattern books’ (Wachsmann 1987: 13), or ‘Musterbücher’ (Der Manuelian 1993: 28).⁸⁸ For example, Bietak and Reisner-Haslauer argue that the similarity of Eighteenth and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty tombs at Thebes can be explained by the existence of Musterbücher collated in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978: 232-40), which suggests that such pattern books may have acted to create a continuation of themes over wide periods of time. The second possibility is that earlier tombs were used as direct inspiration for later ones. Wachsmann (1987: 12) agrees that this is a possibility, while Davies’ comparison of the tombs of Aba at Thebes and Deir el-Gebrâwi concludes that the similarity between the two tombs ‘can only be accounted for by direct copying’ (Davies 1902: 36-37), although this cannot be proved and other factors may have

⁸⁸ See also Keller who suggests that ostraca or papyrus patterns may have been used as a source of images (Keller 1991: 53-54).

played a part.⁸⁹ Notably, while Bietak and Reisner-Haslauer attribute the similarity between Eighteenth and Twenty-Fifth Dynasty tombs to *Musterbücher* they suggest that these were collected in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; this implies that these pattern books were, in fact, copied from the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, which suggests a connection between copying and pattern books rather than treating the two as distinct.

Furumark (1950: 233) argues that tombs were not accessible to later artisans, and so could not have been copied directly without the intervention of pattern books; however, graffiti such as in Theban Tomb TT60 refute Furumark's claim and show that at least some tombs were accessible and may have been copied. It is important, therefore, to see tomb depictions not as static images that were simply added to the wall of a monument at a point in time, but as dynamic processes by which the depictions were created at a specific moment but then interacted with all those who visited the tombs, possibly influencing the decoration of other, later tombs, and also the ideas of the people who saw them. In this way the images can be seen in a similar light to the graffiti discussed earlier.⁹⁰

These scenes were not intended only for the deceased but for the living. They were created to be visited by future generations, as instances of the Appeal to the Living (Teeter 2011: 131), and graffiti found in private tombs like TT60 attest to.⁹¹ The likelihood that scenes from older tombs were used as inspiration, if not as direct patterns, for newer tombs suggests that the depictions in these monuments were seen and adapted into the Egyptian culture.⁹² The tomb

⁸⁹ See Der Manuelian, who disagrees with Davies' argument, suggesting instead that the later tomb of Aba took its inspiration from other Saite tombs in the area (Der Manuelian 1993: 28). He does not reject the possibility of copying from one tomb to another entirely, but merely implies that the copying may have been from tombs of a similar era.

⁹⁰ See ch. 2.5.2 for discussion of the dynamic nature of graffiti.

⁹¹ See app. 1 for more details of tomb graffiti.

⁹² See the previous paragraphs for discussion of copying in Egyptian tombs.

graffiti discussed previously support the hypothesis that tombs were visited by Egyptians, possibly to marvel at them as historical monuments or through devotion to the tomb's owner.⁹³ The ideas contained within the decoration, therefore, were interacted with by the living and evolved over time into new tomb decorations. Perhaps these tombs may, then, be seen as 'lieux de mémoire', sites which supported the development of cultural memory on a local scale.⁹⁴

3.3. THE THEBAN DEPICTIONS

Eleven scenes of royal ancestors have been found in Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs at Thebes. This is far more than have been found at any other site and may be due to the high number of tombs which have survived in good condition in the area;⁹⁵ the percentage of tombs which include these images is actually no higher than at the other sites.⁹⁶ One must not, therefore, assume that images of deceased kings were necessarily more popular in Theban tombs in the Eighteenth Dynasty than at other sites but simply that there is more evidence there from which conclusions can be drawn.⁹⁷

The scenes are found at four sites in the Theban necropolis; Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Dra Abu el-Naga, el-Khokha and el-Asasif.⁹⁸ The depictions are as follows:⁹⁹

⁹³ See app. 1 for details.

⁹⁴ This is discussed in more detail in the conclusion to this chapter (ch. 3.7).

⁹⁵ Kampp (1996) cites more than two-hundred surviving tombs dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes.

⁹⁶ Out of over two-hundred tombs dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty, ten include a depiction of a deceased royal, leaving the frequency at less than 5%. In comparison, one tomb of approximately twenty-five known tombs at Amarna contains such a depiction, a frequency of 4%. Of course, these figures are speculative as they are based only on the evidence that is known, but they do demonstrate that the higher numbers of example from Thebes may be due to the higher number of burials rather than a higher ratio of depictions to tombs.

⁹⁷ Although the popular cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari at Thebes suggests that the image of specific royal individuals may have been more familiar to communities at Thebes than at other sites.

⁹⁸ See map 1 for locations of these sites.

Sheikh Abd el-Qurna:

- TT349 dated to Thutmose III: Ahmose-Nefertari standing behind Nephthys (D05T01).
- TT53 dated to Thutmose III – Hatshepsut: Deceased and family offering to Ahmose-Henet-Tamehu, Ahmose-Inhapy and another (D05T02).
- TT93 dated to Amenhotep II: New Years gifts brought to Amenhotep II, including statues of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I (D07T03).
- TT89 dated to Amenhotep III: Thutmose III seated (D09T04).

Dra Abu el-Naga:

- TT161 dated to Amenhotep III: Deceased and family offering to Osiris, Hathor and Ahmose-Nefertari (D09T05).
- TT161 dated to Amenhotep III: Two scenes, the first showing the deceased offering to Amenhotep I with Ahmose Sipair, and the second showing the deceased offering to Thutmose III (D09T06).
- TT-162- dated to Tutankhamun – Horemheb: Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari standing behind Osiris alongside Hathor and Horus (D14T10).
- TT255 dated to Horemheb – Seti I: Two scenes, the first showing Horemheb and Mutnedjemet offering to Osiris, and the second showing Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari offering to Anubis (D14T12).

⁹⁹ See app. 6 for more detail of the scenes. Apps. 8 and 9 give the number of scenes of each royal ancestor found at each geographic location; as can be seen, there is little correlation and so conclusions cannot be drawn on the locations in which tomb scenes occur.

El-Khokha:

- TT181 dated to Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten): Deceased offering to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (D10T07).
- TT49 dated to Aye – Horemheb: Deceased offers to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (D14T11).

El-Asasif:

- TT192 dated to Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten): Amenhotep III, Teye and Amenhotep IV standing (D10T08).

3.3.1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SCENES

The earliest scenes date from the reign of Thutmose III and continue until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Few scenes depicting even living kings are found prior to this period,¹⁰⁰ but it should be noted that a depiction of Ahmose-Nefertari can also be found in TT15 which dates to the reign of Amenhotep I. In this scene she is followed by attendants, and libates to a Hathor-cow (Davies 1925a: pl. ii). The scene itself is not included in this study as it depicts a queen who was alive at the time that the tomb was built, but it does introduce the idea that the inspiration for depictions of royal ancestors may have come from earlier images of living kings and queens. Only three tombs survive at Thebes from the reigns of Ahmose and

¹⁰⁰ One is found in TT60 (Davies 1920: 13, pl. xvi), dated to the reign of Senwosret I, but such examples are rare, in which the tomb owner approaches the living pharaoh. Another possible image of the king is found in TT311 (PM I.I: 387) although only fragments survive and so it is difficult to assess the context of this scene. It should be noted that only a small number of pre- and early New Kingdom tombs survive at Thebes and so the lack of surviving scenes of the king may be affected by a lack of evidence, although Robins (1997: 138) notes that images of the king did not, in fact, become common in private tombs until the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Amenhotep I – TT15 and TT81 and TT83¹⁰¹ – and so the fact that only one scene of Ahmose-Nefertari survives from that period does not mean that such depictions were not originally more common, and could have inspired later depictions.¹⁰² However, the small number of tombs relevant to this study, and their widespread positions around the Theban necropolis make it difficult to draw substantiated conclusions about whether copying was likely; the lack of similarity, for example, between the scene of Ahmose-Nefertari in TT15 and the later scenes of the queen discussed in this study suggest that direct copying of the whole scene did not occur. But this does not mean that that inspiration for scenes was not drawn from earlier monuments or that aspects of depictions were not copied.¹⁰³ It is notable that the three earliest tombs which include images of royal ancestors are located at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. This could be used to support the theory that tombs in the same areas followed specific ‘fashions’ at certain times but, again, there are not enough examples to support this conclusion fully.

3.3.2. THE CULT OF AMENHOTEP I AND AHMOSE-NEFERTARI

Five of the scenes include only Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari: in TT181 (D10T07) the deceased adores the royal pair; bouquets are offered to them in TT49 (D14T11);¹⁰⁴ Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted without Amenhotep I in TT349 (D05T01), and in TT161 (D09T05) as the recipient of bouquets alongside Osiris and Hathor; and the two stand with the gods in front of the deceased in TT-162- (D14T10). A further two scenes depict Amenhotep I alongside at least one other royal figure: a scene in TT161 shows the deceased offering to Thutmose III

¹⁰¹ Kampp dates TT15 to the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep I, while the dating of TTs 81 and 83 is more tenuous, with TT81 being placed between the reigns of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut and TT83 between those of Ahmose and Thutmose III (Kampp 1996: 140).

¹⁰² See above, ch. 3.2.5, for more details on copying and pattern books.

¹⁰³ See Wachsmann (1987: 24) who discusses the possibility that scenes were used as inspiration rather than being copied directly.

¹⁰⁴ As already noted, this scene represents part of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

alongside another image of him offering to Amenhotep I and Prince Ahmose Sipair (D09T06); a depiction in TT255 depicts Horemheb and Queen Mutnedjemet before Osiris alongside a second scene of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari before Anubis (D14T12). The dates of these scenes range from Hatshepsut to Horemheb.

The possibility that they are inspired by earlier depictions of the pair as the living rulers of Egypt, such as the image of Ahmose-Nefertari in TT15, has already been noted. Scenes of living kings in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty are not, however, common with TT15 having the only identified scene of Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari from their lifetimes. Although this does not rule out copying, other explanations must, therefore, be sought for the scenes of the pair that occur later in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

A likely explanation is that they relate to the cult of the pair that existed at on the west bank at Thebes in the New Kingdom. McDowell (1992: 101-102) has noted at least nine festivals of Amenhotep I which took place in the New Kingdom at Deir el-Medina, and tomb scenes from the Ramesside Period explicitly depict festivals of the couple with approximately forty-three such images dating to the first four reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁰⁵ An example can be found in TT2, dating to the reign of Ramesses II; this tomb includes scenes of statues of Amenhotep I being carried on a palanquin by priests.¹⁰⁶ Further evidence, from the same period, includes an ostrakon which records an oracle of Amenhotep I being called on to solve a dispute over the ownership of a tomb (Černý 1927: 185).¹⁰⁷ Images of Amenhotep I and

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Heffernan (2010: apps. 3-5). Although not the only deceased royal individuals depicted in festival contexts in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the vast majority show this couple. An example in which other royal individuals are shown is a depiction of statues of Amenhotep III and Teye which are included in a procession in TT277 (Vandier d'Abbadie 1954: pls. vi-viii, x, xiii, xv).

¹⁰⁶ See Černý (1927: 167-168, pl. i), GIA photos 1984-1987.

¹⁰⁷ Many detailed studies have been carried out on the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in the New Kingdom and so it is not necessary to discuss this in great detail here. See, for example, Černý (1927), Moore

Ahmose-Nefertari in the Eighteenth Dynasty may, therefore, be seen as precursors to the better known tomb depictions relating to the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in the Ramesside Period. This lends more support to the hypothesis that depictions of the pair in the Eighteenth Dynasty were a result of interactions between tomb owners and the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari which became prominent in the New Kingdom.

3.3.2.1. THE CONNECTION WITH HATHOR

Two scenes in the corpus may show a link between Hathor and the king, or queen. TT181 (D10T07) shows one tomb owner, Nebamun, offering to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, alongside a scene of the other tomb owner, Ipuky, and his wife offering to what is thought to be a Hathor cow; Davies (1925b: pl. ix) shows the two scenes, back to back and, although the figure of Hathor has not survived, the depiction of a mountain suggests that it is Hathor to whom Ipuky was making an offering.¹⁰⁸ The scene in TT161 (D09T05) shows Ahmose-Nefertari behind Osiris and Hathor.

In Ramesside tombs, scenes of the Hathor cow protecting the king are found several times, often with relation to Amenhotep I.¹⁰⁹ Bleeker (1973: 51) notes the close link between Hathor and the king, which is further displayed in images of the goddess suckling the pharaoh; these are found, for example, at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1901: 5, pl. civ). Here, Hathor is shown as a

(1994), Hollender (2009) for more discussion of the evidence relating to the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in the New Kingdom. Note should be taken of the various epithets which were attached to Amenhotep I, representing his different roles within the Theban community (especially Černý (1927), Hollender (2009: 11-13)).

¹⁰⁸ See, for comparison, a scene of the tomb owner adoring the Hathor cow in TT19 (Foucart 1935: pl. ix[a]), and in TT277 (Vandier d'Abbadie 1954: pl. xv[1]) wherein Hathor protects the images of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep and a queen, who may be Ahmose-Nefertari (the cartouche appears to read 'Nfrys') (see PM I.I: 354).

¹⁰⁹ For example in TT277, as noted above (ch. 3.3.2).

mother and protector of the king, a role that she had played since the Old Kingdom.¹¹⁰ Collier (1996: 105) notes, further, the place of Hathor as the mother of Horus, and her close link with the queen. Scenes such as D10T07 may emphasise this connection between the king (and queen) and the goddess through the creation of two scenes that mirror each other.¹¹¹

Blumenthal (2001: 48) has suggested that the close link between Hathor as a cow and the king became prominent in the reign of Ramesses II, particularly at Deir el-Medina, due to the attempt of that king to emphasise the connection. This is supported by the increase in images of the Hathor cow protecting the king in that period.¹¹² The scene in TT181 may, however, show a connection between the king and the Hathor cow in the earlier part of the New Kingdom, a link that could then have been built on under Ramesses II.

It is also possible that the two mirrored scenes represent the tomb owners offering to local protectors; Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari as protectors of the area and the Hathor cow as a protector of the necropolis.¹¹³ This is supported by D09T05 which shows Ahmose-Nefertari alongside Hathor, who is in human form.¹¹⁴ If this were the case, then the connection may not have been between the king and the goddess as such, but between their protective roles. Yet the possibility that the later, Ramesside images of the king with Hathor were inspired by earlier tomb scenes, regardless of the reasons behind these Eighteenth Dynasty depictions, cannot be ruled out.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the pyramid text of Unas, which includes the reading ‘You, Unis, are the senior god, Hathor’s son’ (Allen 2005: 57).

¹¹¹ The importance of mirroring scenes for demonstrating a link is discussed in more detail below, ch. 3.6.2, with relation to depictions connecting the living king with royal ancestors.

¹¹² See Heffernan (2010: 57-61) for scenes of the king with Hathor in early Ramesside tombs, and for further discussion.

¹¹³ See B. Lesko (1999: 99-111) for more discussion of Hathor’s connection with the West.

¹¹⁴ It should, however, be noted that the Hathor cow was a distinct form of Hathor and so, D10T07 may have had an entirely different motivation.

3.3.3. SCENES WITHOUT THE INCLUSION OF AMENHOTEP I AND AHMOSE-NEFERTARI

Four scenes show deceased royal figures but without the inclusion of Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari: a scene in TT53 shows the deceased offering to statues of Queen Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu and Queen Ahmose-Inhapy (D05T02); TT93 includes a depiction of the deceased offering statuettes of Amenhotep II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose I to Amenhotep II who was the reigning king at that time (D07T03); TT89 shows a young Thutmose III (D09T04); TT192 shows Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and Teye alongside his father, Amenhotep III(D10T08).¹¹⁵

Three of these scenes are depictions of kings in whose reigns the tomb owner lived¹¹⁶ and, in this sense, may be classed as autobiographical,¹¹⁷ although they should not be dismissed as examples of depictions of royal ancestors.¹¹⁸ The fourth (D05T02) cannot be described as possibly autobiographical as the tomb owner was not alive during the lifetimes of the royal individuals depicted.

¹¹⁵ There is debate as to whether Amenhotep III was truly deceased in the early years of his son's reign or if a length coregency was undertaken. This is discussed in detail below, see ch. 3.4.

¹¹⁶ The inclusion of such scenes in the corpus is discussed above with relation to the parameters of the study, see ch. 3.2.1.

¹¹⁷ The term 'autobiographical' is used to denote depictions which recreate a scene from the life of the tomb owner in which he came into contact with the living king. As has already been discussed, elements from the life of the tomb owner, such as statues, may have been incorporated into most if not all scenes of royal ancestors; scenes that incorporate such statues are not referred to here as 'autobiographical' although they may contain autobiographical elements. In order to differentiate them from the autobiographical scenes as defined above, scenes which include cult statues of royal individuals will be referred to here as 'semi-autobiographical'.

¹¹⁸ This is discussed in more detail below (see ch. 3.3.3.1.)

3.3.3.1. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SCENES

Amenhotep III may have been alive at the time that D10T08 was created, and was certainly the king for much of the tomb owner's life.¹¹⁹ Murnane (1977: 148-150) suggests that depictions of Amenhotep III in this tomb demonstrate the tomb owner's long service under that king regardless of whether the decoration was made before or after the death of Amenhotep III. In support of this, he points to scenes in the tomb which commemorate the jubilee of Amenhotep III, which are clearly autobiographical in nature (Murnane 1977: 148). The inclusion of Amenhotep IV alongside Amenhotep III was, he argues, intended to show Kheruef's loyalty to the present king whilst also acknowledging the king he served for much of his life. This interpretation emphasises some of the issues of identifying deceased kings in tomb depictions. Just because this tomb appears to have been decorated in the reign of Amenhotep IV, and ignoring discussions of coregency, the fact remains that the tomb owner served this 'past king' in his life and seems to have chosen to commemorate this in his tomb. Whether deceased or not at the time that the tomb was decorated, Amenhotep III was a part of his life.

Similarly, the narrow time between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III leaves open the possibility that D09T04 also contains an autobiographical element; although the tomb owner does not hold any titles that suggest direct service of either king, his high status implies that he may have had contact with the pharaoh, at least at official events.¹²⁰ Davies and Davies (1941: 131) conclude that the scene was created in the reign of Amenhotep III and so

¹¹⁹ The issues relating to the possible coregency of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) are discussed in detail below, ch. 3.4, with regards the depiction at Amarna.

¹²⁰ See Urk. IV: 1024[a, b] for the titles of Amenmessu, which include '*iry-p^ct*', '*h3ty-^c*' and '*imy-r pr m niwt rsy^t*' among others.

shows a deceased king.¹²¹ It is likely, however, that the tomb owner lived during the reign of Thutmose III and so, again, the probability that the scene honours a pharaoh that the tomb owner served in his life is high.

Two of the four scenes that do not include Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, therefore, may be identified as depicting a king whom the tomb owner served during his life, or at least during whose reign the owner lived. They may, therefore, perhaps be classed as autobiographical. Can these really, therefore, be seen as showing deceased kings?¹²² Based on the dating of the scene, it is likely that the king shown in TT89 (D09T04) was deceased when the scenes were created. The possible coregency of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV makes the status of the king in TT192 (D10T08) more difficult to ascertain.¹²³ Whilst, therefore, identifying them as deceased kings, it is important to acknowledge a different motivation in the decision to include the scenes in the tombs. The kings shown in these two scenes were not kings of the distant past but kings of the present, who were honoured by men who had served them during their lives and wanted to acknowledge that in their tombs.

¹²¹ This view is supported by Kampp's dating of the tomb to the same date (Kampp 1996: 344); Kampp relates the date of the tomb to the reign of Thutmose III, but attributes its building to the reign of the later king.

¹²² The difficulty in distinguishing between scenes of living and scenes of deceased royal individuals, and the probability that the majority of depictions of royals in tombs are, in fact, depictions of statues of royals, leads to the question of whether a true distinction was drawn between the living king and past kings, or if pharaohs of the past and present played a similar role in society through their memorial cults, festivals and statues. Apart from those men whose roles involved actual contact with the person of the king, would those people who served in the cult of a deceased king have treated it any differently to those who served in a cult of the living king? This is an important issue, and one which will be discussed in more detail throughout the course of this study.

¹²³ This is discussed in more detail below, see ch. 3.4.

3.3.3.2. THE NEW YEAR'S FESTIVAL OF THE KING

D07T03 is clearly autobiographical in nature as it shows the event at which New Year's gifts were offered to the reigning king.¹²⁴ Similar scenes can be seen in a small number of other Eighteenth Dynasty tombs¹²⁵ although in this example the gifts include statues of the royal ancestors, Thutmose I and Hatshepsut. This is important as it provides evidence in the Eighteenth Dynasty of statues of royal ancestors being carried in procession; as discussed above, the majority of such evidence dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty and so this scene supports the theory that the use of royal statues can be traced back to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Of course, these statues are not carried in a procession dedicated to a specific royal ancestor, or to a group of them, but the scene does provide evidence that statues of deceased royal individuals had a place in festivals prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume a wider use of royal statues in the period.

This is the only scene from the Eighteenth Dynasty in which gifts to the living king included statues of royal ancestors. This leaves two possibilities: firstly that this scene was a true representation of the festival but no other tomb owner chose to depict this detail; secondly that the tomb owner depicted an autobiographical event but added details from other life experiences.

If D07T03 is a true representation of the event, then one is left with the question of why this detail is only included in TT93. The simplest answer to this may be the low number of scenes

¹²⁴ Although it also includes statues of deceased kings, it is classed as autobiographical because the statues are taking part in a festival from the life of the tomb owner, in which gifts are carried to the reigning king.

¹²⁵ As already noted, they can be found, for example, in TT47 and TT48 (PM I.I: 87-88). For further discussion of the gifts presented to the kings at the New Year's Festival see Aldred (1969).

of New Years gifts to the pharaoh found in private tombs at all;¹²⁶ of the surviving Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, less than ten have scenes of this festival.¹²⁷ Due to the lack of comparable scenes, it is not possible to know if depictions of statues of royal ancestors were commonly included in New Year's festival scenes (assuming that they were included at all) or if they were unique to this one depiction.¹²⁸

If the owner combined ideas taken from other parts of this life and added them into the scene of New Years gifts, then this would suggest that royal statues were included in other festivals and processions; it would suggest that the tomb owner, Kenamun, was familiar with such statues from another context and used these as inspiration for a concocted scene of gift-giving. In both scenarios, the tomb owner clearly saw some importance in the scene and made a decision to include, or invent, the presence of the royal ancestors' statuettes; this suggests that he attached some value to the statues that was translated into his tomb decoration.¹²⁹ In her discussion of memory, Small (1997: 195) suggests that one does not always remember an objective version of an event but records the 'gist', including aspects of what could, or even should, have happened.¹³⁰ Similarly, scenes such as this one might be understood as a record of the general idea of what could have occurred; they memorialise the 'gist' of the event, rather than being a literal depiction. The inclusion of statues of the living king alongside those

¹²⁶ Although Säve-Söderbergh (1957: 39) writes that 'a display of "New Year's gifts" is a common motif, especially in the tombs of the Chief Stewards, and represented the yearly inspection by the king of the administration of his confidential high official'.

¹²⁷ Of those tombs from the reign of Amenhotep II, for example, only two others reference the New Year's festival (TT85 (PM I.I: 173), TT95 (PM I.I: 197)), neither of which show a gift-giving scene. Statues of the living king being carried in procession are included in scenes of the New Year's Festival in other tombs from the Eighteenth Dynasty; they can be found, for example, in TT48 from the reign of Amenhotep III (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 38-39, pls. xxxi, xxxvi-xxxviii), and in TT73 from the reign of Hatshepsut (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 2-5, pls. i-iii). Such festival scenes are, however, rare.

¹²⁸ Indeed, perhaps they were a quirk of the New Year's festivals of Amenhotep II although, as noted, this detail is not found in either of the two other scenes of the festival dated to this reign.

¹²⁹ The titles of Kenamun (Urk. IV: 1401-1403) do not throw any light on this issue.

¹³⁰ She quotes the example of Plutarch, whose record of a meeting with Croesus is not that of an actual event, but is an account of what could have happened had the meeting taken place (Small 1997: 198-199).

of two of his ancestors suggests a connection in the mind of the tomb owner between the reigning king and those who went before him, a theme that will be discussed in more detail below.¹³¹

3.3.3.3. NON-AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SCENES

A final scene at Thebes is found in TT53 (D05T02). It dates to the reigns of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut but shows two queens who lived in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, Ahmose-Inhapy and Ahmose Henet-Tamehu. There is no clear link between the tomb owner and these two individuals and so it is uncertain why he included them in his tomb. Ahmose-Inhapy may have originally been buried in TT320 at Deir el-Bahri (PM I.I: 393), while the mummy of Ahmose Henet-Tamehu was found in the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri (PM I.II: 660),¹³² although her original burial place is uncertain. It is possible that the owner of TT53 was familiar with the tomb of one, or both, of the queens and took inspiration from this; unfortunately there is no evidence of this and so it cannot be confirmed. As has already been mentioned, Ahmose-Inhapy was the mother of Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu; the two queens were, therefore, closely related which may explain why they have been included together in a tomb scene. It is possible that some of the scenes in the tomb of Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu also included her mother, Ahmose-Inhapy. If the tomb owner, Amenemhab, was familiar with the tomb of Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu, therefore, he may have drawn inspiration from scenes of the two queens. This emphasises the importance of monuments to royal ancestors in promulgating their memory in society. It also supports the hypothesis that tombs were important lieux de mémoire, acting as dynamic repositories of memory.

¹³¹ See ch. 3.6.2.

¹³² The coffin of Ahmose-Inhapy was also found in the royal cache, although reused by Rai, a nurse of Ahmose-Nefertari (PM I.II: 658).

It is likely that the tomb owner had a tangible connection with the two queens, either through a memorial structure belonging to one of them or through seeing their statues in festivals or rituals.¹³³ It is also possible that these individuals had a special significance for the tomb owner or his family, although this is not recorded in any evidence and so cannot be commented on further.

3.4. THE AMARNA DEPICTION

Only one depiction of a royal ancestor is found at Amarna; this scene is on a lintel in the outer hall of the tomb of Huya (tomb 1) and shows Amenhotep III with Teye and Bakhetaten next to a mirroring scene of the reigning royal family, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and four of their daughters (D10A09).

The possible coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) must be addressed here as it casts doubt on the identification of Amenhotep III as a deceased king in this depiction and in the depiction of the pair found in TT192 at Thebes. Indeed, TT192 has been cited as important evidence in the discussion of coregency between the pair.¹³⁴ The identification of Amenhotep III in TT192 as either living or deceased would provide a key signpost in the coregency issue, yet there is no consensus over this; Fairman (1951: 155-156), for example, argues for Amenhotep III's status as living,¹³⁵ while D. Redford (1967: 116) sees

¹³³ See chs. 3.3.2 and 3.6.1.1 for more discussion of the likelihood that depictions of royal ancestors were, in fact, depictions of their statues as used in festivals and rituals.

¹³⁴ Dorman (2009: 66), for example, notes the scene of Amenhotep IV before Amenhotep III and Teye as a key issue in the debate.

¹³⁵ Fairman's argument is based on his comparison of the scene with similar scenes at the king's own temple at Soleb.

him as deceased.¹³⁶ Dorman (2009: 67-78) also notes incongruities in the construction of the tomb that make assessing the order in which scenes were created more difficult; again, this halts attempts to draw definite conclusions on whether the scene of Amenhotep III was carved before or after his death.¹³⁷

An important piece of evidence cited with regards to the wider issue of the coregency is a letter sent from the Mittanian, Tushratta, to Akhenaten with the date of either year 2 or year 12 of Akhenaten (D. Redford 1959: 34); the contents of the letter suggest that Amenhotep III had only recently died which would, if the reconstruction of year 12 is upheld, suggest a long coregency,¹³⁸ but this dating is far from certain. Based on a text found at Dahshur, Allen (1994) posits the existence of a coregency lasting a minimum of seven years although he recognises that such fragmentary evidence cannot be seen as comprehensive proof of such as thing. Again, this evidence has been questioned by scholars such as Murnane and van Dijk, who throw doubt on the reading of the text, and its reliability as evidence for a coregency.¹³⁹ A third argument in favour of a coregency is the similarity in style between decoration on Akhenaten's Ra-Horakhty temple at Karnak and some of Amenhotep III's monuments (Johnson 1990: 42-45). Yet again, counter arguments have suggested alternate reasons for the crossover in styles, with Romano (1990: 52-53) noting the possibility that artisans in the later reign chose to emulate the earlier style of Amenhotep III as an alternative interpretation.

¹³⁶ Redford compares the representation of Amenhotep III with those of the deified Amenhotep I.

¹³⁷ Dorman (2009: 78-80) writes that the tomb does not offer any definitive evidence for a long coregency; while not dismissing a short sharing of power between the two kings, he concludes that the scene in this study was probably intended to show devotion to a deceased royal ancestor.

¹³⁸ See D. Redford (1959: 34), who outlines the arguments with relation to this text. The letter, British Museum EA27, is translated in Moran (1992: 86-90).

¹³⁹ Allen, Murnane and Van Dijk (1994) suggest that the reading of the year in the first line as '32', upon which the identification of the king as Amenhotep III is based, is uncertain due to the untidy nature of the strokes. Van Dijk (Allen et al. 1994: 29) also discusses the identification of the king in the second line as Akhenaten, again suggesting that this is not certain.

Again, the evidence is uncertain with no definitive decision on the possibility of a coregency between the two kings.¹⁴⁰

If a coregency between the two kings did occur, then it throws into doubt both depictions in the corpus that represent Amenhotep III. However, in the absence of definitive evidence as to the status of Amenhotep III at the time that these tombs were built they have been included. Furthermore, even if Amenhotep III was alive at the time that the tombs were built, the scenes still provide evidence of the linking of one king with his predecessor which is an important concept when looking at memory and state legitimation in ancient Egypt.¹⁴¹

3.4.1. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION

At the time D10A09 was created Amenhotep III would not have been dead for long (if at all), and certainly within the realms of living memory. It is possible, therefore, to argue that this scene has an autobiographical element to it;¹⁴² it may represent the various royal appearances that Huya had experienced in his life. Scenes of Akhenaten and his family outside of the temples and processing in chariots¹⁴³ suggest that the royal family were regularly seen in public¹⁴⁴ and this public presence may have inspired the scene in Tomb 1. This scene, however, is not situated outside of a temple or during a procession, which would mark it as autobiographical, but shows the two families seated without the addition of any further context. This implies that the intention was not to depict an event from the life of the tomb

¹⁴⁰ See D. Redford (1967: 88-169) and Romano (1990: 50-51) for overviews of the arguments relating to the coregency. Murnane (1977) discusses the possibility of a coregency in more detail, highlighting evidence such as the Mitanni correspondence as well as the purported existence of a residence of Amenhotep III at Amarna.

¹⁴¹ This is discussed in more detail below, see chs. 3.4.2 and 3.6.2.2.

¹⁴² See above, ch. 3.3.3.1, for discussion of autobiographical scenes.

¹⁴³ A scene from the tomb of Mahu, for example, shows the Akhenaten leaving the temple in his chariot while a second scene shows him in his chariot alongside Nefertiti and a daughter (Davies 1906: pl. xx).

¹⁴⁴ Of course, the evidence comes from tombs which were owned by the elite members of society and so the level to which the king was visible to lower levels of society is less certain.

owner but to represent another reality. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that the inspiration for the scene came from public appearances of the royal family at Amarna; in the same way that scenes of royal ancestors at Thebes may have been inspired by the presence of their statues at festivals, scenes of the king at Amarna may have been caused by his own public appearances.¹⁴⁵ This does, however, lead to the question of why Amenhotep III was included, if he was not coregent when the tomb was built. Alternatively the scene could be seen as depicting the range of royal figures in whose reigns Huya had lived, rather than showing actual events.

3.4.2. SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATION

The style of the scene which shows the two royal families seated opposite each other suggests that it was symbolic, intended to link the living king with his immediate ancestor. As discussed above, autobiographical scenes of the king are common in Amarna tombs; had the tomb owner, therefore, wished to show interaction with Amenhotep III during his life, it is probable that he would have done so explicitly. That this scene is a form of ‘genealogy’, in which the members of the two families are set against each other in mirror scenes, implies a deliberate choice on the part of the tomb owner.

Genealogy played an important role in Egyptian society, with parentage being invoked to justify or legitimise the position of the individual, or perhaps also to guarantee their good moral standing. In higher circles it was drawn upon to legitimise political standing. An example is the inscriptions of Djehutinakht, a nomarch of the First Intermediate Period who

¹⁴⁵ It is possible, therefore, that the lack of depictions of other royal ancestors at Amarna comes not from the lack of surviving tombs but from the lack of appearances of statues of past kings in festivals; Akhenaten and his family were the only rulers with whom the citizens were familiar and, therefore, were the only ones who were depicted, primarily in scenes which explicitly show them as they appeared in life.

left inscriptions in the tombs of several prominent individuals at the sites of Deir el-Bersha and Sheikh Said.¹⁴⁶ In the inscriptions he implies an ancestral link between himself and the owners of the tombs despite their being no evidence for them being his actual ancestors. By linking himself to each of these individuals, however, he was able to legitimise his own position in a way that was familiar in Egyptian society, through genealogy. In royal circles, such genealogies often took the form of kinglists.

Redford defines true kinglists as ‘groupings of kings ... which set out (a) to arrange the names in correct historical sequence, (b) to give for each name the length of reign, (c) to note conscientiously any gaps in (a) or (b)’ (D. Redford 1986: 1). As such images like D10A09 cannot be seen as ‘kinglists’¹⁴⁷ (indeed, it is questionable how far a depiction of two kings with their wives and families can ever be called a ‘list’); however, while D. Redford (1986: 18) states that smaller assemblages of kings which do not fulfil the criteria above should be seen as cultic rather than historical in interest, it can be argued that an interest in both aspects may be implied. The emphasis is not on the specifics of each reign (i.e. regnal dates or other facts) but on the legitimacy that can be bestowed by knowledge of the history of the royal line. By emphasising the ancestors of the king, be they the immediate predecessor (as seen here) or a more distant relation, the state demonstrates its legitimate claim to the throne; this claim is accepted by tomb owners who incorporate this motif into their own depictions.

¹⁴⁶ See de Meyer (2005) for details of the inscriptions.

¹⁴⁷ D. Redford (1986: 1-2) notes that only one true kinglist can be identified, the Turin Canon.

3.4.3. THE ROYAL FAMILY

D10A09 also includes five princesses, one daughter of Amenhotep III and Teye and four daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Scenes including members of the royal family alongside the king are found in several private tombs at Amarna, and so this was not unusual.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, there are other scenes of the royal family in the same tomb (Davies 1905: pls. iv, vi). Temple scenes which include the king alongside his family may have inspired tomb scenes of them; scenes of members of the royal family carrying out ritual duties are found, for example, in blocks at Hermopolis (Roeder 1969: Taf. 2, 18), while other scenes giving a less formal image of the family are also evidence (Roeder 1969: Taf. 8). Furthermore, as already noted, it is probable that the king and his family did make public appearances at Amarna which may, again, have inspired such scenes.

Gohary (1992: 13) suggests that some official images of royal ‘children’ accompanying the king (such as those of Amenhotep III at Soleb) were, in fact, depictions of priests representing royal ancestors and the continuation of kingship; she bases this understanding on the addition at Soleb of depictions of the queen and princesses alongside ‘*msw nsw*’. While it should not be assumed, therefore, that the children depicted in D10A09 were symbolic representations – indeed, the princesses in this scene are named as such and cannot be seen as anything other than representations of the children of the king – it must be considered that depictions of royal children were not necessarily simply an attempt to accurately portray the family of the king,

¹⁴⁸ For examples from other tombs see the tomb of Mahu (Davies 1906: pls: xv, xvi, xxii, xxiii, xxviii). Further scenes of the royal family are found in the royal tomb, which includes images of princesses worshipping the Aten (Martin 1989: 20, pl. 15), carrying sistra behind their parents (Martin 1989: 23, pls. 22-24), and even, in the case of Meketaten, on her deathbed and with her family attending her statue after her death (Martin 1989: 42-45, pls. 63-67).

but may have had symbolic importance in emphasising the continuation of the royal line and the legitimacy of Egyptian kingship.

3.4.4. THE CROWNS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

As one of the most recognisable symbols relating to the royal family, the crowns that were worn in tomb scenes could have an effect on how those viewing them perceived the royal ancestors depicted.¹⁴⁹ Showing the pharaoh and his family in specific crowns could encourage the development of certain understandings of those individuals, and potentially of kingship in a wider sense. In D10A09, Akhenaten is depicted wearing the *hprš* crown (Blue Crown), while Amenhotep III and Nefertiti wear the cap-crown. Akhenaten wears this crown frequently in depictions in private tombs at Amarna,¹⁵⁰ which suggests that this was seen as an important crown of kingship. V. Davies (1982: 75) suggests that the *hprš* acted as a ‘symbol of coronation’, identifying the wearer as the legitimate heir to the throne. Collier (1996: 123) gives a similar interpretation of the crown, writing that the ‘use of the *hprš* implies that its wearer is the living heir of kingship from a line of deceased kings’.¹⁵¹ She links it with Amun, suggesting that it emphasised the link between the king and the god, showing that ‘Amun was regenerated within each succeeding king and the king was the heir

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, Lecoq (2001), who discusses the role of symbols in helping to develop ‘histories’ relating to those connected with them.

¹⁵⁰ The damage to the figure of Akhenaten in many scenes means that one cannot be certain which crown he is wearing in them. But of those that have survived, several show him in the *hprš*; see, for example, the tomb of Meryra (Davies 1903: pls. xvii, xxii), the tomb of Penthu (Davies 1906: pls. v, vii), and the tomb of Mahu (Davies 1906: pls. xv, xx, xxii, xxiii, xxviii).

¹⁵¹ She notes (1996: 119), for example, that, from the Eighteenth Dynasty, the king wears the *hprš* in scenes in which he is being depicted as a child being suckled by a goddess; these scenes show him as the legitimate heir to the throne. She, furthermore, records a scene from the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, in which the king is shown wearing the *hprš* leading a line of nine deceased royal ancestors, who all wear the *nms* (see Collier (1996: 123-124)); this scene clearly links the *hprš* to the role of the king as the heir to his predecessors.

to the throne through Amun' (Collier 1996: 127).¹⁵² Leahy (1992: 227), however, questions this link between the *hprš* and the legitimization of the king, noting, for example, that it was not used by the Kushite kings, despite their need to demonstrate the legitimacy of their rule.¹⁵³ This link should not, therefore, be seen as certain although it is likely that there was symbolism attached to the crown.

Amenhotep III and Nefertiti both wear the cap-crown with a uraeus, perhaps suggesting a link between the two, although a link in status would be to increase greatly that of Nefertiti so as to equate her with that of Akhenaten's predecessor. Of course Nefertiti's position went beyond that of any previous royal consort, with images in the *hwt-bnbn* at Karnak showing her as the sole worshipper of the Aten accompanied by her daughter who takes the role traditionally filled by the queen (D. Redford 1984: 76). Redford (1984: 75) suggests that the cap-crown was connected with the status of royal women in the Amarna Period¹⁵⁴ which explains it being worn by Nefertiti, implying that she held an important position and may, therefore, have been considered the equal of Amenhotep III, although this does not explain its use by Amenhotep III.

V. Davies (1982: 70-75) postulates a clear link between the cap-crown and the *hprš*, suggesting that the former was originally known in sources as the *hprš* and evolved into the latter. This idea is supported by Collier (1996: 107-108, 112-114), who notes that the earliest known use of the term *hprš* occurs in the Eleventh Dynasty, although the later form (also called the 'Blue Crown') was not found until the Eighteenth. Collier (1996: 126) agrees that

¹⁵² See also Gregory (2008), who suggests that both the cap-crown and the *hprš*, in the Ramesside Period (using the term *hprš* to define the later form of the crown, as distinct from the cap-crown) represent the king as the legitimate heir to the throne, with the cap-crown emphasising his link to the god Amun in this role.

¹⁵³ He suggests (1992: 231-232) that the choice of the Kushite kings to avoid the *hprš* may have been due to its close connection with the cap-crown, which was used widely in the period.

¹⁵⁴ See also Collier (1996: 109), V. Davies (1982: 75).

the cap-crown and the *hprš* were linked, but suggests that the *hprš* was the superior partner to the subordinate cap-crown; perhaps, then, the use of the two different crowns emphasises the superior status of Akhenaten as the living king over his predecessor and his queen.

3.5. THE MEMPHITE DEPICTIONS

As already mentioned only two scenes of a royal ancestor can be found in tomb depictions at Memphis; they were not found in situ but both include the names of probable tomb owners. The first scene, D00M13, shows the scribe and physician Thuthu with his sister Naia before Kebsenuf and the Fifth Dynasty king Menkauhor. The second scene, D00M14, shows Menkauhor standing. Both scenes have been dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

It is interesting that both scenes include Menkauhor; perhaps one should conclude that there was a revered monument or cult in the area relating to him in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The lack of scenes of any other royal ancestor seems strange as monuments of Djoser, Sneferu, Userkhaf, Sahura and Senwosret are all known to have been visited and correctly identified by people in this period.¹⁵⁵ Why then is it Menkauhor whose image is found in tomb depictions at Saqqara? There are three likely reasons; firstly that there was also a venerated monument of Menkauhor at this time which has since collapsed. This is supported by Lepsius' claim to have found a pyramid of Menkauhor at Saqqara which was rediscovered in 2008 and, again, attributed to Menkauhor (BBC 2008).¹⁵⁶ The second possibility is that depictions of other deceased kings existed in Memphite tombs but have not survived. Memphite tombs are generally less well preserved and are fewer in number than those at

¹⁵⁵ See graffiti found on funerary monuments at Memphis (discussed above, ch. 2.3).

¹⁵⁶ See Lehner (1997: 153, 165) for details; he notes other studies that have attributed this pyramid to Merikara, but suggests that the link with Menkauhor is stronger.

Thebes and so it is likely that scenes have been lost. Perhaps Menkauhor was one of several kings whose image had been copied onto private tomb walls. Of course, it is likely that both of these reasons have some truth in them; a monument of Menkauhor in the area would explain the inclusion of his image in these two depictions and the damage to so many tombs would explain why other depictions are absent. It is unlikely that Menkauhor was the only royal ancestor to be depicted in private tombs at the site.¹⁵⁷ The final possibility is that these two depictions actually come from two closely related tombs in which the decoration of one copied that of the other.¹⁵⁸ The owners of the two depictions were not the same men, but this does not preclude them having shared a tomb or one having been inspired by a scene found in the other. D00M14 is very fragmentary so a comparison of the two is difficult; although the scene in D00T14 has not survived intact, the parts that can be seen suggest that the context is not the same. In D00M14 the king stands beneath a falcon with papyrus stems in front of him, while in D00M13 he stands with other deities in front of the tomb owner. In both scenes Menkauhor is depicted wearing a *nms* headdress and a short triangular kilt, although the decoration of the kilt in D00M14 is more complex than that of D00M13. Other aspects of the representation are not the same; the *nms* is styled differently in each scene and Menkauhor carries different objects in his hands, with one scene showing him holding an *ʕnh* and a *ḥkꜣ* while the other, whilst also showing an *ʕnh*, puts a *wꜣs* in his other hand. Furthermore, in D00M13 Menkauhor wears a long, divine beard in his role as an equal to the gods, but in D00M14 he does not, which suggests that Menkauhor is not shown in the same context in D00M14 as that in D00M13.¹⁵⁹ While this does not discount the possibility of a connection

¹⁵⁷ And his inclusion in these two images suggests that the practice of including royal ancestors in private tomb depictions did occur at Memphis.

¹⁵⁸ See above, ch. 3.2.5, for discussion of the practice of copying images from other tombs.

¹⁵⁹ See app. 6 for further evidence of this distinction. The only scenes in which the king is shown with a beard are those in which he stands alongside the gods (D14T10, D00T13). In the other scenes, in which the king is shown either alone or alongside other royal individuals (either with or without the inclusion of the tomb owner) he is depicted as beardless.

between the two scenes, or that one scene was used as inspiration for the other,¹⁶⁰ it does suggest that there may be another explanation.

As has been postulated for Thebes, it is possible that there was a cultic statue of Menkauhor at Memphis in the Eighteenth Dynasty that wore the *nms*-headdress and a short kilt, which was used in rituals and processions. It would, therefore, have been familiar to tomb owners and may have been the inspiration for these depictions. If the two images were both inspired by this hypothetical statue, it may explain the broad similarities, and the minor differences; the clothing and headdress are known and remembered, but the smaller details may have been misremembered, or subject to different artistic styles or personal preferences. This supports Redford's theory that the images found in private tombs depicted local cult statues of the king (D. Redford 1986: 53-55).

These two images of Menkauhor, therefore, lead to two important wider conclusions; firstly that the practice of including images of deceased kings in private tombs occurred at Memphis and so was not limited to Thebes (and possibly Amarna), and secondly that there is likely to have been a connection between the depicting of these royal ancestors and the memorial complexes and cults in the area in the same way as shown in the Theban evidence.

3.6. ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF THE SCENES

It is important to look at the scenes from all three sites together to discuss similarities, differences and themes that occur throughout the corpus. When this is done two main

¹⁶⁰ See Wachsmann (1987: 24) for more on the possibility that existing scenes were not copied directly but used as inspiration for later ones. This is also discussed in more detail above, see ch. 3.2.5.

categories become apparent which will now be discussed. The first is scenes that include only deceased kings either with or without the tomb owner. The second category is depictions which include one or more royal ancestor alongside the reigning king; this emphasises the importance of links between the living and the dead.

3.6.1. SCENES OF ROYAL ANCESTORS WITHOUT THE INCLUSION OF THE LIVING KING

Ten scenes show only royal ancestors; two from Saqqara¹⁶¹ and eight from Thebes,¹⁶² although it should be noted that not all of the scenes are complete and so some may have originally included other figures. Seven of the Theban scenes show either Amenhotep I or Ahmose-Nefertari, and six of the scenes show one or each of these figures exclusively.

3.6.1.1. THE CULTS OF DECEASED KINGS

The images of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari can be explained by the cult of the pair at Thebes and it is likely that the images depict statues of the pair, as already discussed.

Additionally the depiction of Ahmose-Inhapy and Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu may also be copies of cult images, although the possibility that these scenes were inspired by depictions in other tombs cannot be discounted.¹⁶³ At Saqqara there is no evidence of a memorial cult of Menkauhor in the Eighteenth Dynasty but it is probable that there was a pyramid attributed to

¹⁶¹ D00M13, D00M14.

¹⁶² D05T01, D05T02, D09T04, D09T05, D09T06, D10T07, D14T10, D14T11. The inclusion of D09T04 accepts the conclusion that the tomb was created in the reign of Amenhotep II and, thus, defines this scene as depicting a royal ancestor without the inclusion of the living king; as noted above (see ch. 3.3.3.1), there is some debate about this.

¹⁶³ See above, ch. 3.2.5, for discussion of the practice of copying from earlier tombs. The possibility that the tomb of Ahmose-Inhapy was at Thebes has also been discussed.

him in this region, and so in the absence of a funerary cult this may have served to keep alive his memory. The possibility that there was a cult dedicated to royal ancestors collectively, as opposed to individuals, must also not be discounted, although one would expect a wider range of royal ancestors to be included in tomb depictions if this were the case.¹⁶⁴

At Thebes, where the higher amount of surviving evidence allows for analysis of the individuals depicted, the focus is on two figures, Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari. It is, therefore, unlikely that the main aim of these tomb depictions was a historical interest in royal ancestors or a focus on the creation of a genealogy; if this were the case one would expect to see a wider range of royal ancestors depicted,¹⁶⁵ or scenes of rows of seated royals as found in the later New Kingdom.¹⁶⁶ Instead, the figures are shown singularly or in pairs with no real allusion to their genealogy apart from a small number of scenes which mirror the living king with one royal ancestor. Although this does not preclude there having been a historical interest in deceased royal figures, it does suggest that it was not the primary aim of the scenes.

One must, therefore, look for an explanation of the decision to depict specific individuals. The most likely reason is that they were based on the cultic images that appeared in festivals. McDowell (1992: 97) writes that the kings depicted in Theban tombs of the later New Kingdom all had (or had had) temples on the West Bank at Thebes and their statues were included in the procession at the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, which may be used to account for the existence of the tomb depictions. Based on the existence of royal memorial

¹⁶⁴ Although even at Thebes it is likely that evidence has been lost due to the deterioration of tombs; further scenes of other royal ancestors may, therefore, have been created that have not survived.

¹⁶⁵ It is difficult to draw a definitive conclusion based on the evidence at Saqqara due to a lack of surviving images, but the evidence from Thebes suggests that this may have been the case.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, a scene in TT19 which dates to the reign of Ramesses II (Foucart 1935: pl. xii).

estates in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the numbers of personal titles relating to these cults,¹⁶⁷ it seems likely that a similar situation can be attributed to the earlier part of the New Kingdom. However, neither Ahmose-Inhapy or Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu are known to have had temples on the West Bank at Thebes in the New Kingdom;¹⁶⁸ this suggests that the existence of a cult temple was not the sole reason for the inclusion of an image in tomb depictions. Of course, it is possible that statues of the two women were still used in festivals and processions and this may account for their inclusion in the tomb scene.¹⁶⁹

Looking again at the depictions of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, the possible link between festivals and tomb depictions can be examined in more detail. McDowell (1992: 101-102) notes that there were at least nine festivals of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina in the New Kingdom although whether they correspond to specific events within his reign is uncertain.¹⁷⁰ It is, however, possible that royal festivals may have been connected with political events; Barta (1980: 51-52) links the festivals of kings to one of four events, namely death, succession, burial and coronation. Perhaps, then, the appearances of these statues and, by association, the depictions of them within private tombs, may be seen as helping to retain the memory not only of ancestors of the living king but of key events in their reigns. This emphasises their importance as historical devices as well as cultic ones. Of course, it has

¹⁶⁷ Royal memorial cults are discussed in detail in the next chapter (ch. 4). Thus far, forty-five individuals have been identified as holding titles relating to royal memorial cults, primarily located in the Theban area (see apps. 11, 12).

¹⁶⁸ It is unlikely that they had individual temples dedicated to them, but it is possible that there were dedications to them in temples of other individuals. It should also be noted that the memorial temple of Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was located at Abydos and so it is possible that any memorials relating to these two women were also located there, although there is no surviving evidence of them (see Harvey (1998) for details of memorial structures and cults at the site).

¹⁶⁹ As already noted, the possibility that scenes from other tombs provided inspiration should also not be discounted.

¹⁷⁰ McDowell notes the use of the term *h^c*-festival ('appearance' festival) for many of the festivals at Deir el-Medina; she states that a *h^c*-festival of Ramesses III in the later New Kingdom can be shown to correlate with the date of his accession and/or his coronation, and goes on to suggest the possibility that other *h^c*-festivals may also have been linked with key events in the kings' reigns although this has not been proven (McDowell 1992: 101). See also Helck (1966: 234).

already been noted that there were at least nine festivals of Amenhotep I at Deir el-Medina in the New Kingdom; this is surely too many for each festival to have represented a specific event (especially if Barta's four categories are used for analysis) and so it must be accepted that not every festival and, ergo, not every depiction, can have retained a memory of a political moment in history. But this does not mean that some of them did not.

Instead of depicting royal ancestors who had not played a part in living memory, therefore, the scenes may show cult statues which the tomb owners had seen in festivals. Perhaps, then, the scenes of deceased royals should be seen as semi-autobiographical rather than purely historic or cultural.¹⁷¹ Should these scenes, then, be included in a discussion about the social memory of Egyptian communities, or should be understood simply as recreations of the life of the tomb owner?

Wang and Brockmeier argue that autobiographical memory¹⁷² is not necessarily entirely distinct from the development of social memory; they suggest (2002: 46) that 'a culture's practices of autobiographical remembering as well as its prevailing ideas about selfhood play a central role not only in defining the mnemonic registers of the entire sociocultural system, but also in transmitting them from one generation to the next'. They, therefore, see autobiographical remembering as a highly important part of social memory. They claim, further, that

¹⁷¹ The difficulty of defining scenes as 'autobiographical' has been discussed above and only those scenes which show a living king playing a role in the life of the tomb owner have been classified as such, while those scenes which include statues of royal ancestors out of the context in which they were seen in life, are referred to in this study as 'semi-autobiographical'.

¹⁷² Here, this covers both autobiographical and semi-autobiographical memory as defined in this study.

autobiographical memory and self are two dynamic aspects of the same overarching cultural system. Cultural genres of remembering one's past and cultural conceptions of selfhood are both raw materials and end products of such interconnected constructions. In this way, they contribute - in turn - to a culture's continuity and transformation (Wang and Brockmeier 2002: 50).

This, admittedly lengthy, quotation sums up the important interconnection between personal memory and self, and social identity; one's own sense of self is deeply intertwined with the wider social and cultural context. Similarly, Mark Freeman (2002: 193) explores how cultural texts and 'textures' become woven into the fabric of memory, arguing that in telling one's autobiography, there is a need to 'move beyond personal life ... into the shared life of culture' (Freeman 2002: 194). Arguments such as these support the idea that autobiography, far from being in opposition to social memory, is actually a key aspect both of its creation and of the understanding of it by future generations. Therefore, these 'semi-autobiographical' depictions can be seen as an important part of the development of cultural memory within communities, as well as evidence of the place of these memories in the everyday cultic life of the people.

3.6.1.2. THE CROWNS AND EPITHETS OF ROYAL FIGURES

As already noted, it is important to look at the symbols that were included in depictions of royal ancestors, and how these may have affected the memory that was developed relating to these individuals. Two of the clearest symbols are the crowns that are worn, and the epithets that accompany the depictions.

3.6.1.2.1. CROWNS

There do not appear to be clear rules governing the details of the scenes in this chapter, such as the crowns worn by each figure. For example, Amenhotep I wears the *hprš* crown three times,¹⁷³ and the wig with *sšd* band and *šwty* crown twice,¹⁷⁴ while Thutmose I wears the *šwty* with horns and a sun disk.¹⁷⁵ As a prince, Ahmose Sipair wears the simpler wig with band.¹⁷⁶ The use of the *hprš* as a crown for Amenhotep I brings to the fore an interesting issue; as noted above, this crown is often understood as being linked with coronation, marking the wearer as the legitimate heir to the throne (Collier 1996: 123, V. Davies 1982: 75).¹⁷⁷ But, if this were the intended meaning of the crown, then surely one would expect it to be worn by the living king, emphasising his legitimate claim to the throne and not by his ancestor. One is left, therefore, with three possibilities. The first is that the intention was to mark Amenhotep I, the credited founder of the New Kingdom period of stability, as the legitimate heir to the throne, a right which was then passed to his successors. This is possible, although it does require a slightly altered understanding of the importance of the crown, and is at odds with scenes such as that noted above, in which Ramesses III wears the *hprš* to lead a line of his ancestors, who all wear the *nms* (Collier 1996: 123-124).

The second possibility is that as well as being seen as portraying the legitimacy of the king and his link to Amun, the *hprš* was also understood as a crown of war, marking the king as a strong and powerful general.¹⁷⁸ Collier, however, (1996: 116-117) dismisses this claim,

¹⁷³ D10T07, D14T11, D14T12.

¹⁷⁴ D09T06, D14T10.

¹⁷⁵ D07T03. In this depiction one of the statues of the living king, Amenhotep II, wears the same crown, while the majority of statues of Amenhotep II wear a wig with uraeus.

¹⁷⁶ D09T06.

¹⁷⁷ See ch. 3.4.4.

¹⁷⁸ See Collier (1996: 116-117).

noting the many other contexts in which the crown is found, a claim that is backed up by the evidence from this study. This is supported by V. Davies (1982: 75-76), who suggests that the coronation of the king was not only a political moment, but also included his triumph over his enemies, which may explain the implied military connection. This alternative understanding of the crown does, however, act as a reminder that the meanings of the crowns worn by Egyptian rulers are not always entirely certain, and that there may be more than one possible interpretation of their value.

A third possibility, and the one that seems most appealing, is that there was a cultic statue of Amenhotep I wearing the *hprš* in the area, and that the image in the tomb represents this statue. D. Redford (1986: 53) suggests that there were several statues of Amenhotep I in the west of Thebes, each of which wore a different crown, including one that wore the *hprš*. Bruyère (1939: 176-178) also understood these different crowns as being worn by cultic statues, to represent different aspects of Amenhotep I, with the *hprš* showing him as the king of Upper Egypt, linking him with Amun-Ra.¹⁷⁹ While this does not dismiss the symbolic importance of the crown, it places the emphasis on the tomb owner copying a cult statue rather than on his choosing the *hprš* for its symbolic function.

The *šwty* crown, as worn by Amenhotep I and Thutmose I, had links with the gods Andjety, Osiris and Tatenen (Collier 1996: 53). When worn by the king, however, its primary symbolism was with Horus (Collier 1996: 58); Collier notes that the *šwty* worn with the *sšd* band was explicitly linked with the god Horus in a New Kingdom stela which reads, 'I have purified the head of Horus when he has received his *sšd*. O I have fastened for his *šwty*'.¹⁸⁰ Its

¹⁷⁹ This different understanding of the meaning of this crown is a reminder that there is no definitive interpretation.

¹⁸⁰ Boulaq Museum No. 28049, from Abydos. See also Daressy (1889: 90-91), who transcribes the text .

use in depictions of Amenhotep I may, therefore, be understood as linking him with the god in his role as the living king of Egypt. This links to the previously discussed meaning of the *hprš*, suggesting that the various crowns worn by the deceased king may have emphasised his eternal position as the living king of Egypt, linked with the gods.

Of the female figures five wear the vulture crown although while Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu and Ahmose-Inhapy wear it on its own,¹⁸¹ Ahmose-Nefertari wears it with the modius¹⁸² and with the *šwty*.¹⁸³ She also wears just the *šwty* in one depiction¹⁸⁴ and the *šwty* with a sun disc and fillet in another.¹⁸⁵

The vulture crown is linked with the goddess Nekhbet¹⁸⁶ and could be seen as emphasising the maternal aspects of the queen; Nekhbet is mentioned in several texts in her role as the protector of the king.¹⁸⁷ Troy (1986: 116-117) also notes that the vulture was recognised as a protective symbol in early iconography, for example on the wedding mace-head of Narmer, where it is shown over the kiosk of the king, although the use of the vulture crown for the queen is not confirmed before the Fifth Dynasty. The use of the vulture as the hieroglyph for ‘mother’ further emphasises the maternal and protective aspect of this symbol.

While some of the crowns include a vulture on the brow of the queen (for example D05T02), others show a cobra on her forehead (for example D10T07). The cobra is linked with the goddess Wadjet. While the vulture, Nekhbet, was the goddess of Upper Egypt, Wadjet was

¹⁸¹ D05T02.

¹⁸² D05T01, D10T07, D14T11. The modius is also referred to in literature as the ‘platform crown’ (see Troy (1986: 121-122).

¹⁸³ D09T05.

¹⁸⁴ D14T10; it is possible that she also wears the vulture crown as part of the scene is destroyed.

¹⁸⁵ D14T12.

¹⁸⁶ See Troy (1986: 118-119) for discussion of other evidence of the connection between the queen and Nekhbet.

¹⁸⁷ See Allen (2005: 178) for PT 509 which reads, ‘[May you defend him Nekhbet] when you have [defended] Pepi, Nekhbet’.

the goddess of Lower Egypt (Troy 1986: 116). The use of the cobra ornament, therefore, provides a link with another goddess, again with multiple symbolism.¹⁸⁸ The use of symbols of the two goddesses represent the dual nature of the queen, in her relationship with the two lands of Egypt, the sky and the earth, and even perhaps as mother and daughter (Troy 1986: 122-123).¹⁸⁹

Similarly Troy (1986: 126) writes that ‘the parallelism of the two feathers [*šwty*] reiterates the theme of feminine duality as a generative force’, again emphasising the dual nature of the queen. Found in relation to queens from the Thirteenth Dynasty, the *šwty* became a common headdress for queens in the Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly when combined with the vulture crown (Troy 1986: 126); the frequent combination of the two crowns supports the theory that their symbolism was interlinked. The use of the *šwty* could also be connected to a belief that the two feathers represented the two horizons and the flat base was a symbol of Khemmis (Mercer 1942: 148) which, as the place where Isis raised Horus, emphasised the maternal aspect of the queen.¹⁹⁰ This theory is supported by the occasional addition of a sun-disc between the feathers (Troy 1986: 126). Again, the symbolism of the *šwty* is closely connected with that of the vulture crown.

The crowns of the queen may also have served to emphasise her connection with the king. The *šwty* is also worn by the pharaoh in depictions and may, therefore, have represented the close links between the queen and the king; it has been argued by Troy (1986: 126) that the *šwty* became an ‘established part of the iconography of royal women’ while the *3tf* crown was more closely linked with the king. Robins (1997: 67) has also suggested that through linking

¹⁸⁸ Troy (1986: 121-122) notes that the modius may also have been linked with Wadjet.

¹⁸⁹ Troy (1986: 122-123) suggests that the use of cobra and vulture symbols may have differentiated between mother and daughter roles, although this cannot be confirmed.

¹⁹⁰ As noted previously, the *šwty* was also an important crown for the king.

the queen with both Nekhbet and Wadjet, the vulture crown emphasised her divine nature alongside that of the king.

As can be seen, the crowns worn by male and female royal ancestors can be connected with varying symbolisms. These connections must, however, be discussed with caution as there is no clear pattern for use, particularly with regards to male individuals; it must, therefore, be acknowledged that the choice of headdress may have been less related to symbolism and more to do either with the personal choice of the tomb owner or artisan, or the headdresses with which they were familiar, possibly those worn by cult statues.¹⁹¹ This does not, however, mean that such symbols are irrelevant; while the level to which individuals understood their symbolism cannot be confirmed, they demonstrate ideas that were put forward by the state (for example through the statues used in festivals), ideas which are likely to have permeated society to at least some degree.

3.6.1.2.2. EPITHETS

The epithets included in the depictions follow the standard form for royal images; phrases included to describe the king are *nb-t3wy* ('Lord of the Two Lands'),¹⁹² *nsw-bit* ('King of Upper and Lower Egypt'),¹⁹³ and *ntr-nfr* ('[good] god').¹⁹⁴ Quinn (1991: 172) has suggested that *nb-t3wy* and *ntr-nfr* were usually attached to a living king, a hypothesis that Malek (2000: 241) has supported with regards the epithet *ntr-nfr*. This suggests that the deceased king was not seen as fundamentally different to the living one. This idea can be understood as a part of a culture in which the dead were perceived as being very much a part of the world of the

¹⁹¹ The intentions of the tomb owner are discussed in more detail below, see ch. 3.6.1.3.

¹⁹² D14T11.

¹⁹³ D09T04.

¹⁹⁴ D09T06.

living with ancestor busts¹⁹⁵ letters to the dead¹⁹⁶ and *3h ikr (n R)* stelae¹⁹⁷ playing a part in everyday life. Of course, this is not to say that the ancient Egyptians did not differentiate between ‘living’ and ‘dead’; terms for deceased beings such as *3h*¹⁹⁸ show an acknowledgement of the difference and so it should not be assumed that the Egyptians did not recognise this.

Instead it is possible that the difference was not perceived in relation to royal figures. Festival statues of these kings and queens were used even after the death of the individual. This is supported by the scene in TT93 (D07T03) which shows statues of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut being used in a procession in the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁹⁹ The popular cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, as clearly recorded in tomb scenes in the Nineteenth Dynasty,²⁰⁰ is further evidence of the continued use of statues of royal ancestors.²⁰¹ It is then, perhaps, unsurprising that the living king and his ancestors were seen in much the same way, and were given the same epithets.

The female figures are described as *hmt nsw*,²⁰² *s3t nsw*²⁰³ and, in the case of Ahmose-Nefertari *hmt-ntr*.²⁰⁴ The first two can be seen as primarily aimed at clarifying the woman’s

¹⁹⁵ See, for example, Gardiner and Sethe (1928).

¹⁹⁶ See Friedman (1985).

¹⁹⁷ See Demarée (1983)

¹⁹⁸ See Gardiner (1957: 550). Otto (1975: 50) writes that the *3h* denotes the ‘Mächtigen Toten’ (‘mighty dead’). Demarée also discusses New Kingdom stelae which were dedicated to the *3h ikr n R*; he concludes that the term *3h* was used to denote the ‘blessed state of the deceased’ but was also tied to other factors including the completion of ritual acts, successful travel to the afterlife and possibly even the moral character of the individual (Demarée 1983: 193-194). Von Lieven (2010: 1) suggests that the rank of *3h ikr n R* was the first step on the road to deification for deceased humans; many individuals who reached this status never evolved further although a small number rose to be venerated as ‘local patrons’.

¹⁹⁹ See above, ch. 3.3.3.2, for discussion of the inspiration behind this scene.

²⁰⁰ See Černý (1927), Hollender (2009) for discussion of the cult of the pair, and related tomb depictions.

²⁰¹ Although, as already noted, the cult of these two may not have been entirely representative of royal cults.

²⁰² ‘King’s wife’, for example in D07T03.

²⁰³ ‘King’s daughter’, as in D05T02.

²⁰⁴ ‘God’s wife’, for example in D14T11.

position in the royal family;²⁰⁵ by emphasising their connection with the pharaoh, the state ensured the legitimacy of any future offspring. The term ‘god’s wife’ used to describe Ahmose-Nefertari²⁰⁶ is linked with her position as the wife of Amun and the mother of the king.²⁰⁷ The God’s Wife (of Amun) had a dual role; she was involved in ritual performance relating to her position, and she played an important part in the ideology of divine kingship (Troy 1986: 97). She, therefore, was a key figure in the legitimisation of the king, confirming not only his legitimacy as a descendant of the king of the past, but also his position as a child of the gods.

3.6.1.3. THE INTENTIONS OF THE TOMB OWNERS

It is unlikely, however, that the creators of these private tombs were fully aware of the symbolism of the crowns and epithets that they included, although the level to which they understood it is uncertain, particularly if they copied images seen in state context.²⁰⁸ The use of epithets intended for the living king²⁰⁹ in depictions of deceased kings suggests that state monuments may have been a source of information for the builders of private tombs. Of course, with regards to some of the Theban private tombs, particularly at Deir el-Medina, the

²⁰⁵ This is particularly notable when looking at the depiction of statues of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut in TT93 (D07T03) which was discussed in more detail above, ch. 3.3.3.2. Scenes which include the living king are also discussed below, see ch. 3.6.2.

²⁰⁶ See, for example, the donation stela of Ahmose-Nefertari which appears to record the establishing of Ahmose-Nefertari as the God’s Wife of Amun (see Gitton (1984: 28-31), Troy (1986: 97)).

²⁰⁷ Troy (1986: 97) discusses the ‘holy wedding’, in which the god Amun meets the queen, who then gives birth to the king, and which can be found on the walls of temples at Luxor, Deir el-Bahri and the Mut complex at Karnak.

²⁰⁸ Such as in festivals, as discussed previously (see, for example, chs. 3.2.4, 3.3.2). Temple decoration may also have acted as inspiration for private tomb scenes, but the poor preservation of many Eighteenth Dynasty memorial temples and debate regarding access to the areas of temples preclude more detailed discussion of this possibility (see, for example, Bommas (2000: 211-213) and Griffin (2007) for discussion of public access to temple areas).

²⁰⁹ For example, *nb-t3wy* and *nsw-bit*, as discussed above, see ch. 3.6.1.2.

tomb builders were also employed in building royal tombs (L. Lesko 1994: 2, 22-23),²¹⁰ and so would have been familiar with the royal imagery used in a memorial environment;²¹¹ many of the epithets found alongside royal depictions in private tombs at Thebes are also found in royal tombs,²¹² but this cannot be taken as firm evidence for direct copying.

It is, perhaps, more likely that inspiration was taken from the statues used in festivals and processions, wherein epithets were used for specific statues,²¹³ who also wore distinct headdresses. D. Redford (1986: 53) supports this idea, suggesting that the use of specific headdresses is representative of an attempt by artists to copy cult images which they came into contact with in their lives.²¹⁴ Perhaps then the details found in private tomb depictions should be seen not as representing any belief on behalf of the owner but simply as an attempt to copy a state example; they may, therefore, represent state ideas rather than those of individuals. Yet this would act as evidence of the permeation of state beliefs into the lives of the non-elite, a powerful tool in attempts to legitimise the ruler.

D. Redford (1986: 54) writes further that kings were depicted as members of specific groups rather than as individuals, which implies that statues were seen as part of a collective; each royal statue, or individual, belonged to a group and it was within this group that their identity was based. Redford assumes a collective understanding of the group nature of these statues which is interesting in the context of this study; in order to recreate such social groupings of

²¹⁰ Although it should be noted that L. Lesko (1994: 13) also writes that ‘these particular workmen apparently did no toil in the other nearby tombs of officials and priests’, and so one must be cautious about assuming that the men who built the royal tombs were also responsible for the decoration of other elite tombs in the area.

²¹¹ See Cooney (2007: 131).

²¹² As already noted, epithets found in private tomb depictions include *nb-t3wy*, *s3 R^c* and *ntr-nfr*, all of which are found in royal tombs such as that of Tutankhamun (Steindorff 1938: pl. cxvi).

²¹³ See discussion relating to the epithets of Amenhotep I, above, see ch. 3.2.4. Epithets are also discussed further in ch. 3.6.1.2.

²¹⁴ The idea that royal ancestors depicted in tomb scenes were copies of statues is discussed in more detail above, see ch. 3.2.4.

royal ancestors, there must have been a shared memory connected with these individuals and their relationship with each other. Through this memory, royal ancestors were remembered not as individuals but as groups of legitimate rulers leading ultimately to the current king who, therefore, was the true and legitimate king. Perhaps Redford ascribes too high a level of understanding to the communities in question but it is an interesting notion and one that should not be dismissed out of hand.

3.6.2. SCENES OF THE LIVING KING ALONGSIDE DECEASED ROYAL FIGURES

Four scenes show the living king alongside one or more royal ancestor; one is from Tomb 1 at Amarna and shows Akhenaten and Nefertiti with four daughters in a scene that mirrors the one opposite, which depicts Amenhotep III and Teye with the princess Bakhetaten (D10A09). The other three scenes can be found at Thebes; the first, in TT93 shows Amenhotep II as the living king receiving gifts which include statues of himself alongside a statue of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut (D07T03); the second depicts the deceased offering bouquets to Thutmose III which mirrors a scene of the deceased offering a bouquet to Amenhotep I and Prince Ahmose Sipair (D09T06); the third scene includes Horemheb alongside Queen Mutnedjemet before Osiris, and Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari before Anubis (D14T12).

3.6.2.1. THE CONCEPT OF ETERNAL KINGSHIP

Three of the four examples included here are, in fact, two scenes which mirror each other. One scene contains the living king while the other includes his ancestors.²¹⁵ The scene in TT255 (D14T12) shows the king offering bouquets to different gods, but the other aspects of

²¹⁵ Be they literal or symbolic ancestors.

the scene are the same; the kings are both followed by their queen, and are both dressed in long gowns and a *hprš* crown. The scene in TT161 (D09T06) shows the two kings seated while the tomb owner offers bouquets to them. Again, the bouquets are different, but in this scene the kings also wear different crowns; while Amenhotep I wears a wig with a band and *šwty* crown,²¹⁶ Thutmose III wears the red crown. Amenhotep I also sits with prince Ahmose-Sipair²¹⁷ behind him while Thutmose I is alone. While the owner of TT255 aims to create a near symmetrical link between the two kings, the owner of TT161 seems to have emphasised different their different aspects, while still mirroring their role as the objects of devotion. While the differences in TT161 may, as already discussed, be explained by an understanding of the difference between Amenhotep I as a royal ancestor and Thutmose III, as the living king, the scene in TT255 (D14T12) shows both the living king and his ‘ancestor’ in the same crown which suggests that the two were viewed here as equals. Again, one is left to question whether the living king was really seen as distinct from his ancestors, or if differences in representation were due to other factors. As already noted, tomb scenes may have been inspired by statues that were encountered at festivals and in rituals, and so the different crowns worn in TT161 may be practically ascribed to the fact that there were statues of Amenhotep I and Thutmose III wearing those specific crowns. The inclusion of Ahmose-Sipair in the scene may, again, be due to his inclusion in a particular festival,²¹⁸ or it may be because of specific knowledge on the part of the tomb owner or artisan of this particular individual.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Hollender (2009: 18) refers to this as the ‘Anedjti-Feder-Krone’ which shows its close connection with the god Andjety.

²¹⁷ Ahmose-Sipair may have been a son of Ahmose and a brother of Amenhotep I, although he died before he could inherit the throne (Bunson 1991: 17). Alternatively, Dodson and Hilton (2010: 129) suggest that he was the son of Taa II and may have been the father of Thutmose I. Although his exact identity is uncertain, his royal status is clear.

²¹⁸ Dodson and Hilton (2010: 129) note his appearance on several Eighteenth Dynasty monuments. His inclusion in related festivals is, therefore, highly probable. Furthermore, his inclusion on such monuments may also have served to keep his memory alive in Egyptian communities.

²¹⁹ At this point, his tomb has not been identified and so this theory cannot be confirmed.

Despite the differences between the individuals in the scenes, the scenes create a sense of connection between royal ancestors and the living king as mirrors of one another; the figures fulfil the same role within the scene as objects of devotion, which mirrors their equal role in this world. This emphasis on the likeness of past and present kings can be seen as an allusion to the concept of eternal kingship as put forward by Kantorowicz; while each king is recognised as an individual living in a specific time, they are also the holders of an eternal form of kingship and should be recognised as such. In this way all kings, past and present, are connected by their role as the ruler of the land and possessor of the royal *k3*. Linking the present king to his ancestors emphasises his position as the legitimate king and the successor of a long line of rulers.

3.6.2.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLIC ANCESTORS

D14T12 shows Horemheb and Mutnedjemet alongside Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. In this case they cannot be seen as direct ancestors as Horemheb was not a descendant of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty kings (Kemp 1989: 208-209); the emphasis, therefore, must be on the pair as symbolic ancestors rather than on trying to draw a direct genealogy, although again how much of this knowledge was accessible to the builders and owners of the tombs is uncertain. This is supported by the decision to include only Thutmose I and Hatshepsut in D07T05 rather than depicting the ancestors of Amenhotep II genealogically which would have included Thutmose III and Thutmose II. The choice of these two as the ancestors of the king was surely symbolic, creating a sense of the genealogy of the king through which his legitimacy may be confirmed.²²⁰ Of course, this does not preclude such scenes being similar

²²⁰ Similar symbolic genealogy can be found in the texts of Djehutinakht who, as noted above, was a nomarch who recorded his name in the tombs of several prominent individuals at Sheikh Said and Deir el-Bersha. In doing this he created a genealogy through which he supported his own ruling position, despite the fact that none

to the semi-autobiographical depictions discussed previously in which statues, as seen in festivals, were translated into private tomb depictions. In this case the decision of which individuals to include in depictions may have been based on which statues were experienced in the tomb owner's life, rather than on a conscious choice to include specific royal ancestors. Perhaps then, these scenes suggest a conscious decision on the part of the state to emphasise festivals of the specific royal ancestors that best served its own aims, that of the legitimisation of the ruling pharaoh.

If, as has already been discussed, these depictions are understood as being copies of statues, then the symbolism behind specific aspects of the scenes should also be attributed to the state. For example both kings in D14T12 wear the *hprš* crown. If, as has been discussed above, the crown represented the king as the legitimate heir to the throne, then its use in this scene is clearly intended to demonstrate that Horemheb was the true successor to Amenhotep I, and the legitimate king of Egypt.²²¹ In the case of Horemheb, statues of the king wearing the *hprš* may have been used in festivals specifically to emphasise his position as the legitimate heir to the throne, through his link with the god Amun; the emphasis is, therefore, on the creation of cultural memory through official events, which is then captured in the scenes found in private tombs.

of the people in whose tombs he added texts are known to be his actual ancestors. Marking their tombs with his own restoration inscription was perceived to be enough to create a symbolic genealogy.

²²¹ Kemp draws further attention to the fact that Horemheb had his coronation at Karnak and Luxor as part of the Opet Festival, thus linking himself to the god Amun to validate his rule; this is reminiscent of the link between the early form of the *hprš*, the Cap-Crown, and Amun, as noted by Collier (1996: 118-119).

3.6.2.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF FEMALE ANCESTORS

Of the four scenes which show the living king alongside royal ancestors, three depict a female ancestor alongside the male.²²² It is interesting of course that in D07T03, which dates to the reign of Amenhotep II, Hatshepsut is given the epithet ‘great king’s wife’ and depicted as a female rather than being shown as a pharaoh with Pharaonic epithets; she is being celebrated as the wife of the king and the mother of Amenhotep II rather than as his predecessor.²²³ All three are, therefore, shown as the consort of the king and, as such, a mother of his heirs. This suggests that, while male ancestors were key in the implied legitimacy of the ruling king, the female line was also important. While dismissing the more unsupportable heiress theory,²²⁴ it should be recognised that the role of the queen was not simply that of consort to the king but also of mother to his successor. It was the joining of the two, king and consort, in their offspring, that provided their heirs with legitimacy. While Ahmose-Nefertari is often seen as anomalous in discussions of Egyptian queenship, it should be noted that her role was that of consort to the king and in this way did not differ from that of her successors; even if her position was somewhat elevated, her basic role did not change. Troy (1986: 91) notes the central role of the queen as the mother of the king, writing that ‘royal women regenerate the kingship as the mothers of the successive generations’,²²⁵ and the title *hmt-ntr*, although first held by Ahmose-Nefertari, was held by queens who succeeded her (Troy 1986: 97-99).

²²² The only exception being D09T06 in which Amenhotep I is shown alongside prince Ahmose- Sipair.

²²³ This will be discussed in greater detail later, with relation to forgetting (see ch. 5.4.1).

²²⁴ This theory states that royal women held a key role in legitimising the royal line as it was through the female line that the right to the throne was passed on; in order to become king the heir to the throne must marry the ‘heiress’ who was the daughter of the previous king as his ‘heiress’ wife (Robins 1993: 26-27). However, it has been shown that several royal wives were not themselves ‘heiresses’, for example, Amenhotep III’s principle wife Teye was the daughter of the non-royal Yuya and Tuya, and so this theory does stand up to investigation (Hornung 1999: 94). See also Robins (1983), Graves-Brown (2010: 172).

²²⁵ This, again, relates to the queen’s link with Hathor, as discussed above (see ch. 3.3.2.1).

3.6.2.4. THE CROWNS AND EPITHETS OF ROYAL ANCESTORS

As already noted, there appears to be very little pattern with regard the crowns and epithets used in private tomb depictions and so this section will look only briefly at aspects that are particular to the scenes of the living king alongside his ancestors. Again, one is left to consider if this lack of pattern is due to the fact that the images were copied from whatever statues were visible to the community at the time that the tomb was built.²²⁶ It is, however, pertinent to look briefly at the symbolism of some of the crowns.

In the scene in D07T03, Amenhotep II, the living king, wears a variety of crowns while Thutmose I is depicted wearing a *šwty* with ram's horns and a sun-disk. It is notable that one of the thirteen statuettes of Amenhotep II also wears this crown, which may suggest a link between the two figures (although it must be remembered that the other twelve images wear different crowns). Collier (1996: 60) has suggested that the *šwty* represented kingship in the real world,²²⁷ while Barguet (1951: 207) writes that the *3tf* is believed to have represented the *k3* of the king while the *šwty* was linked with the living king. If this were the case then several possibilities present themselves. The first is that the depictions are not exact copies of cult statues, which allows for the confusion of the crowns; the men responsible for the tombs were familiar with various crowns and royal individuals but did not fully understand their symbolism and so, when creating a scene, confused them. This would imply that the scenes were purely fictional with no autobiographical element. The second possibility is that the scenes are based on cult statues, but, as suggested by D. Redford (1986: 54-55), the Egyptians did not see them as individuals but as representatives of groups; this may have led to the

²²⁶ Ockinga claims, in support of this, that images of the king in private tomb depictions were in fact images of statues of the king which represented the king's *k3* (Ockinga 1995: 97).

²²⁷ This was in contrast with the *3tf* which represented kingship in the netherworld (Collier 1996: 60).

crowns being used out of context. The third possibility is that the scenes were faithful copies of statues and that they wore crowns that do not fit with modern understandings of their meanings; while the *šwty* crown may have been a crown of the living king, its use for statues of royal ancestors may demonstrate the blurred lines between the living king and his ancestors, especially when statues were created in the reign of a king and then used for many years afterwards. The distinction made in Egyptian communities between living and deceased kings is debateable, and it is possible that state sponsored images, such as cult statues, encouraged this blurring of lines. This, in turn, added to the concept that the living king was one of a line of ‘eternal kings’.

In D14T12 both Horemheb and Amenhotep I are wearing the *hprš* while Mutnedjemet and Ahmose-Nefertari are depicted wearing the *šwty* with sun-disk. Here it is the clear mirroring of the two pairs that is of interest. As discussed above, by placing both the living king and his ancestor, as well as the two queens, in matching crowns the artist is clearly showing that there was a link between the two with the older king as the ancestor of the living king. Linking the king with his ancestors was important in confirming the legitimacy of the ruling pharaoh and so singling out specific kings to create a more personal connection would have been an effective tool. Again, it is possible that these two kings were linked through festivals, and it is this connection that is shown here.

3.6.2.5. NINETEENTH DYNASTY KINGLISTS

The depictions discussed in this chapter may be seen as a precursor to those more commonly found in private tombs in the Nineteenth Dynasty, which show the reigning pharaoh as part of

a line of ancestors.²²⁸ Although not found in private tombs, state depictions of rows of ancestors are found in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for example the kinglist of Thutmose III at Karnak. This depicts sixty-one kings, beginning with Sneferu of the Fourth Dynasty.²²⁹ It is clear from this list that Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs felt that it was important to link themselves to their 'royal ancestors', although this list would not have been visible to the majority of Egyptians and appears to have been more for the benefit of the gods than to encourage a sense of royal legitimacy among ordinary people. This does not mean, however, that such ideas were not accessible to Egyptian communities; as discussed above, festivals and cult statues may have played an important part in promulgating them.

While images such as that of Horemheb and Mutnedjemet before Osiris, alongside Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari before Anubis (D14T12), does not immediately strike the onlooker as a precursor to kinglists of the Nineteenth Dynasty, it clearly implies a link between Horemheb and his wife, with the venerated ancestors Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari by placing them in positions that mirror each other. It is this emphasis on the link between the living king and his ancestors, be they one or many, that continues in the private kinglists of the later New Kingdom. Images such as this support the hypothesis that ideas relating to the legitimacy of the king through royal ancestors had filtered down into society and become a part of the collective memory of Egyptian communities by the Eighteenth Dynasty, even if the interest in the full genealogy of the king as seen in later periods is not yet evident.

²²⁸ See, for example, the scene in TT19 (Foucart 1935: pl. xii).

²²⁹ See, for example, Prisse d'Avennes (1847: pl. i).

3.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at a variety of depictions from different sites and there are several points on which conclusions must be drawn. The first is simply that of the sites; depictions have been identified at all three of the sites included in this study, although admittedly the depiction at Amarna is open to interpretation.²³⁰ It should, therefore, be noted that such images were not isolated in one area but were a feature of Egyptian private tombs more generally.

Two main categories of depiction have been identified; those that include only deceased individuals and those which show the living king alongside his ancestors. While those that include the living king can be seen as explicitly representing the legitimacy of the reigning pharaoh, those that do not may also contain an element of this; kings and queens of the past were recognised as ancestors of the living king, whether literally or symbolically, and so commemorating them automatically emphasised the legitimacy of the ruling pharaoh as their successor. Furthermore, the inclusion of queens alongside the king in depictions of royal ancestors shows an awareness of the wider royal family; perhaps this emphasises the current king as the offspring of his ancestors, legitimised by both father and mother.²³¹

²³⁰ The issues relating to the possible coregency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten are discussed above, see ch. 3.4.

²³¹ The importance of dynastic continuity, as emphasised by Kantorowicz, can be identified in most, if not all, cultures, from Augustus' wearing a ring bearing the image of Alexander the Great (Hopkins 2009: 178), to Napoleon's statement that 'I am Charlemagne' (Morrissey 2001: 155) (See also above, ch. 1.8.1.2); analysing the importance and processes in Egyptian culture, therefore, may expand understanding of this concept far more widely.

The inspiration for such scenes is also of interest.²³² While it is possible that they were copied from older tombs or pattern books, examination of the scenes as well as their context suggests that most, if not all, were inspired by statues that were visible to communities in festivals and rituals. These may have been publically available, or they may have been accessed by specific individuals in their roles as members of memorial cults.²³³ This allows, for example, for the lack of clear pattern in the crowns worn by the various kings as well as the prominence of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in Theban tomb depictions. The Amarna depiction may, in contrast, have been inspired not by royal statues but by appearances of the royal family themselves.²³⁴ Even if some scenes were copied from older tombs then perhaps the original scene was inspired by festival experiences; in this case, the important role of tombs in storing knowledge and memory taken, in the first instance, from life, is emphasised. It is known that tombs were visited, both during festivals and by interested tourists,²³⁵ and so they may have played a vital role in retaining the memories of earlier generations.

The dynamic nature of tomb depictions is, therefore, key. They were not static images created in a tomb and then left. They represented experiences in the life of the tomb owner, aspects of his life that he deemed worthy of inclusion in his tomb. After their creation they were visited by future generations who interacted with their meaning and perhaps even used them as inspiration for later tomb decoration. It is uncertain how deep the understanding of the iconography of the tomb depictions was; they were deemed important enough for inclusion in

²³² While the highly decorated tombs of Egypt are unusual among ancient cultures, the use of imagery can be found elsewhere, both in state contexts such as decorated architecture, or in private contexts such as Roman mosaics and domestic shrines. The wider motivations, processes and consequences of imagery relating to royal figures as discussed in this chapter can, therefore, be included when looking at other ancient civilisations.

²³³ Memorial cults are discussed in the next chapter.

²³⁴ The lack of images of royal ancestors at Amarna may be explained by the small number of decorated tombs, but it may also be related to the fact that there were no festivals of past kings at the site from which knowledge of such ancestors could be gained.

²³⁵ See above, ch. 3.2.5, for discussion of tomb scenes and the living; tombs were visited, for example, during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, while graffiti found in TT60 supports the idea that private memorial structures were visited by future generations.

tombs and so one must assume that the primary meaning was accessible at least to the tomb owner who, as a member of the society in which the images were constructed, was also presumably aware of the secondary meaning of the depictions. The extent to which the intrinsic meaning was accessible both to the tomb owner and to those who visited the tombs is, however, uncertain. Did they understand, or value, the symbolism of specific crowns and epithets, of connections with certain gods or the connotations of placing an image of a king in a certain context? Possibly not, especially if these scenes were adapted from statues of royal ancestors that were seen at public events and rituals. But the message of royal legitimacy was surely unavoidable; images which linked current king with his ancestors must have encouraged an understanding of him as their true heir.

Furthermore, if the scenes are taken as representing statues, then one must look at the context in which the statues played a role in the lives of the community; the celebration of royal ancestors in festivals and within memorial cults shows their importance to the state in providing legitimacy for the living king through confirming his ancestry. The living king was celebrated alongside these ancestors as the latest in a continuous line, all of whom possessed the royal *k3*, the king who never dies. That scenes inspired by festivals and cults were recorded in private tombs suggests that state ideas about the legitimacy of the pharaoh were successfully transferred down to lower levels of society where they became a part of the cultural memory of communities. Once recorded in tombs, they became accessible to yet more people, both those who visited the tombs and those whose own tomb builders were inspired by them. In this way royal ancestors and their importance to the current pharaoh became a recognised part of Egyptian understanding.

CHAPTER 4. MEMORY AND ACTION

The previous two chapters have looked at how memory can be retained and communicated through writing and images, demonstrating that both can be understood as *lieux de mémoire*. The third part of this discussion must now be addressed, which is the place of active remembering in Egyptian society. As noted by Gillam (2005: 2), while texts and images can display aspects of a person or event, a performance ‘has the unique ability not only to represent or show it but to re-present it, to make it happen again’. Performances, therefore, not only retain memories but make them a part of the present. They eliminate the distance created by the passing of time and allow the community to connect with the past in a way that images and texts cannot. Of course, that is not to say that images or texts and performance are completely dichotomous; texts, for example, can be a fundamental basis of performance,¹ ensuring that actions are carried out correctly, while images capture a moment in the performance and record it.² Performance can perhaps, therefore, be seen as an extension of the written and pictorial forms, a bringing to life of the concepts held within images and texts. As such, performances in ancient Egypt provide the next logical step in this exploration of memory and royal ancestors in Egyptian society.

¹ For example, Papyrus Ramesseum E which acted as the basis of a funerary procession in the Middle Kingdom. See Gardiner (1955) for a copy of the text. His translation, however, should be read with caution as he reads the text in the wrong order. Helck (1981) provides a more satisfactory translation of the text, but it is still not definitive, although a more recent attempt has been made by Hernandez (2012) which sheds some more light on the content.

² It has, however, been suggested that by recording the past, in this case in the form of writing, one opens ‘a gap between the present and the past’; in oral societies ideas of what is ‘traditional’ and ‘legitimate’ resemble simply what is currently practised and may, therefore, change naturally over time, while in literate societies this sense of tradition is more fixed and changes become more noticeable and less acceptable (C. Bell 2009: 136).

4.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

While it is not possible to enact a full analysis of theories of ritual and performance at this point, it is important to outline some of the key components which will be used to enable a more satisfactory discussion of the evidence introduced below.³

It is also important to remember that, as with any study of ancient society, modern understandings of concepts can lead to false assumptions when the terms are used in an archaeological context; Gillam (2005: 135) notes, for example, that modern western understandings of the word 'theatre' are time and place specific, and do not necessarily have any similarities to performances in ancient Egypt; she suggests that Egyptian performances may instead resemble more closely those of ancient Greek theatre, in that they included minimal direction, highly stylized acting and costuming and were often found in the context of religious festivals.⁴ This is only one example, but it does highlight the importance of approaching the evidence and the theory, much of which has been written with modern societies in mind, with caution.

4.1.1. RITUAL, PERFORMANCE AND SOCIETY

The potential for a close connection between social activity and ritual should be recognised here; ritual is not a closed subject found only in the deeper recesses of religious structures, but may play a wider role in society. As far back as the early Twentieth Century, this was

³ Theories of performance and ritual have been vigorously discussed within sociology and anthropology, by Geertz (1973), Schechner (1985, 1988), C. Bell (1997, 2009), Loxley (2007), and Turner (2007) among others.

⁴ It should be noted, of course, that Egyptian 'performances' did not take place on a stage.

recognised in scholarship, with ritual⁵ being cited as playing a ‘dynamic and necessary role in social integration and consolidation’ (C. Bell 2009: 15). Additionally, it plays a part in structuring and defining the social and cultural world. Turner (2007: 4), for example, notes the key role of ritual ‘for both the maintenance and radical transformation of human social and psychical structures’,⁶ while Geertz (1973: 112-113) argues that one finds in ceremonial forms the fusion of ‘the world as lived and the world as imagined’. The close link between ritual and social activity is also demonstrated by rituals which are actually derived from such social actions, for example rituals of sacrifice and eating.⁷ Ritual should, therefore, be understood as a key aspect of cultural and social analysis; it both plays a role in formulating society and it displays those societal notions to the wider audience.

Performance theory, as existing alongside ritual theory, should also be discussed briefly here. The key aspect of performance is its inclusion of an audience; action is carried out to communicate ideas and beliefs to witnesses. Singer (1959: xii-xiii) defines performance as the medium through which the cultural content of a tradition may be ‘organised and transmitted on particular occasions through specific media’,⁸ while Bell notes the assumption that ritual activity ‘encodes something’, which may then be transmitted (C. Bell 2009: 45).⁹

Performance, therefore, places the focus on action by performers (or ‘actors’) for the benefit of witnesses; this collective involvement both of actors and audience further emphasises the

⁵ C. Bell (2009: 14) discusses definitions of ritual as used to describe a variety of categories. These include religion, the ‘nature of social phenomena’ and culture.

⁶ See also C. Bell (2009: 20), who notes Turner’s description of ritual as an ‘affirmation of communal unity’ which counteracts the contrasting demands of society.

⁷ Bell looks, for example, at the ‘common meal’ and ritual sacrifice, as discussed in the work of Hubert and Mauss (1964).

⁸ Pearson and Shanks (2001: xiii) note another understanding of performance, as ‘organized behaviour presented before witnesses’, which they attribute to the performance theorist, Richard Schechner.

⁹ Bell (2009: 45), however, later notes that ‘the assumed existence of such a “something” ... devalues the action itself, making it a second-stage representation of prior values’. Yet, while undermining the value of ritual as representative of specific ideas or values, Bell’s postscript does not lessen the potential power of ritual within society.

place of action as a central tenet within society rather than placing it as an elite and closed field.

Bell (2009: 72) explicitly differentiates between two distinct ways of understanding that have been alluded to above; the first sees ritual as distinct from all other behaviours, while the second views it as an 'aspect of all activity'.¹⁰ Both approaches have failings; the first sees ritual as something already finished, thus losing the nature of activity as such (C. Bell 2009: 72). The second allows the observer to find a degree of 'ritual' in almost all activity, thus causing the definition to be extended to unmanageable proportions (C. Bell 2009: 73).¹¹ Both views, however, distinguish between the sacred and the everyday; by assuming this division, which is often not clear,¹² they provide an overly simplified understanding of ritual practice. This challenge is recognised, for example, by Luckmann (1970: 60-66), who notes that the specialisation of religious institutions within a society can vary, with less complex societies often subscribing to a less specialised form of religious expression through ritual. He writes, furthermore, that 'only if religion is localised in special social institutions does an antithesis between 'religion' and 'society' develop' (1970: 66-67).¹³

In the light of these issues a third approach to ritual must be found, one that recognises the complex relationship between the sacred and the profane and takes into account the differences between social groups. Bell (2009: 74) provides a suitable alternative, in which

¹⁰ See, for example, Hubert and Mauss (1964) who look at ritual meals and sacrifice.

¹¹ See, for example, Cancik and Cancik-Lindemaier (2003) who postulate the idea of a 'temple of the whole world' with relation to ancient Egypt and Rome.

¹² This division is particularly unclear in societies such as ancient Egypt, where the sacred permeated every area of life. Discussions of domestic and popular religion can be found, for example, in Pinch (1993) and Stevens (2006).

¹³ He emphasises the difficulties in placing performative events within either the sacred or the profane world; he differentiates between 'performances', which may 'have a purpose in the context of everyday life' and are only 'indirectly' connected with the sacred, and 'rituals', which 'are meaningless within the immediate context of everyday life' (1970: 59). This, however, assumes a definition of ritual that may not be relevant in the context of ancient Egypt.

one must examine both how and why a person acts ‘so as to give some activities a privileged status’; activities should not be defined within the closed categories of ‘ritual’ or ‘non-ritual’ but must instead be understood in their own context with careful consideration of the society in which they occur.¹⁴ Here, ritual is understood not as inherently distinct from other activities but not a sub-category of them either, rather as a fluid category of action that is defined not by what it is but by the context and circumstance in which it is performed.¹⁵ As such, it provides the most suitable framework through which to analyse ritual and performance.

4.1.2. TRADITION

Another important term when analysing memory in society is ‘tradition’, which plays a key role in Assmann’s cultural memory theory.¹⁶ He writes (2008: 111, 117) that objects do not have a memory of their own, but act as ‘reminders of the memory we have invested into them’, memories which are passed on through phenomena such as rituals and performances;¹⁷ in this way, memory is passed vertically from one generation to the next as tradition (Assmann 2006: 8-9).

A key aspect of tradition, as understood by many theorists, is its unchanging nature.¹⁸ Its set form can be related to its basis in written culture; Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983: 2-3ff, 247-

¹⁴ Bell (2009: 74) writes that one must ‘refer to the particular circumstances and cultural strategies that generate and differentiate activities from each other’.

¹⁵ There is, therefore, no specific category of actions that may be defined as ‘ritual’. Instead, any action may be understood as such; whether an action is understood as being ritualistic is decided based on the context of how, when and where the action is performed.

¹⁶ According to Assmann’s thesis, tradition underpins cultural memory and contributes to its development in society (Assmann 2006: 8). This was discussed in more detail in the introduction to this study (see ch. 1.5.).

¹⁷ Assmann (2010: 117) also notes the role of other media, such as texts and icons, but the importance of ritual and action is clear.

¹⁸ C. Bell (2009: 118), for example, notes that tradition has been defined as ‘that which doesn’t change’. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983: 2-3ff, 247-251) define tradition as ‘invariant’, in contrast to custom, which they see as ‘flexible’.

251), for example, associate tradition with written records, in contrast to custom which they connect with oral cultures. While tradition is unchanging, custom is far more flexible.¹⁹ The focus on writing as a foundation of tradition places emphasis on ‘specialist’ practitioners who have access to the information to perform the ritual correctly.²⁰

This dichotomy between literate and oral cultures is, however, untenable as most societies contain a combination of the two.²¹ Furthermore whilst some things may remain unchanging so as to give communities a sense of continuity with the past, traditions must develop to at least some degree over time, even if these changes are not fully recognised by the communities in which they occur (C. Bell 2009: 118). Hobsbawm and Ranger go further than this, arguing that ritual ‘invents’ tradition so as to imbue it with a sense of legitimacy through its continuity with the past, thus creating a sense of the unchanging nature of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 1).²² Here, the requirements of the present are given priority over the need for true continuity with the past, in keeping with Halbwachs’ theory of collective memory.²³ It is, therefore, the *perceived* nature of tradition as unchanging (or being

¹⁹ See also Bell, who notes that in oral societies conceptions of what is traditional and, therefore, legitimate, remains related to what is practiced, writing that ‘past and present are open for definition’ (C. Bell 2009: 136); in contrast, when things are written down they become ‘fixed’ and any changes become more obvious, thus turning customs into traditions (C. Bell 2009: 136).

²⁰ Assmann also emphasises the role of specialists in retaining and passing on cultural memory (Assmann 2010: 114). It should, however, be noted that the power to perform the ritual lies with the office of the specialist rather than with the person him- or herself (C. Bell 2009: 135).

²¹ Rappaport, for example, argues that a fixed distinction between literate and oral is untenable as literate societies contain oral customs and oral cultures include traditional, or unchanging, elements in their rites (Rappaport 1979: 179-182ff). See also Bell (2009: 119-120) for references and further discussion.

²² Wyke and Biddiss (1999: 16) support this idea, writing that it is not the past itself that is important but one’s own ‘constructed images’ of it that can be used to ‘mould our current consciousness’. Biddiss, for example, questions whether the modern Olympics were a renewal of an ancient event or if they consisted of invented tradition altered to fit with modern ideals (Biddiss 1999: 132-133). Here, an event is imbued with legitimacy through the creation of new ‘traditions’; these hailed modern Greece as the ‘founder’ of the modern Olympic games, thus supporting the political aims of that government (Biddiss 1999: 136).

²³ See Halbwachs (1992: 25). Bloch also notes the importance of ‘formalisation’ in creating tradition and producing ‘traditional authority’ which acts a form of social control (Bloch 1975: 12, 22-28). Such a process will naturally be more difficult in an oral society which has no structure by which to permanently record a formalised version of tradition, although it should be noted that Bloch’s discussion of formalisation focuses on oratory.

of limited change) that is important rather than it actually being unchanging. This is an important distinction when discussing the nature of active memory in societies.²⁴

4.1.3. RITUAL AND GROUP IDENTITY

Ritual plays an important role in creating a sense of group identity.²⁵ This is founded upon two things; underscoring the ‘oneness’ of the community, and an emphasis on the otherness of those outside of it.²⁶ Ritual and tradition must, therefore, be understood as being key components in the creation of group identity, which may itself be seen as vital in the construction of cultural (and collective) memory.²⁷

This connection between ritual and memory which was begun in the first two chapters of this study, may now be expanded yet further to include the performative aspects of Egyptian society. It is, however, important not to credit ritual as being able to create a community in a group of individuals with no other connection to each other. The community must already exist in some form; it cannot be entirely created by this process.²⁸

²⁴ While it may be interesting to chart the development of traditions over time thus leading to discussion of whether the term ‘tradition’ is, in fact, a suitable one, this is not the aim of this discussion.

²⁵ Staal (1986: 57), for example, identifies the importance of ritual in giving groups a distinct identity. He notes (1986: 57-58), however, that these distinctions often ‘rest upon meaningless phonetic variations’. While Staal’s evidential basis, that of Indian ritual songs, may not be directly comparable with that of ancient Egyptian society, it does emphasise the point that the distinctions that are drawn by groups between themselves and others need not be great, they must simply be conceived by the members of the group as being important.

²⁶ See, for example, C. Bell (2009: 121), who writes that rituals play a role in the ‘generating of a shared consensus concerning an authoritative past’, and in upholding a ‘set of distinctions, seen as rooted in the past, which differentiates this group from other groups’.

²⁷ Bommas (2011: 3-4) discusses the interaction of culture, memory and identity.

²⁸ As C. Bell (2009: 222) notes, ritualisation ‘cannot turn a group of individuals into a community if they have no other relationships or interests in common’; it should, instead, be seen as a force which can take ‘arbitrary and common interests and ground them in an understanding of the hegemonic order’.

4.1.4. RITUAL AND CONTROL

Because of its close connection with social identity, ritual can serve a further purpose, acting as a form of social control.²⁹ Bell (2009: 169) notes that this can be achieved in two main ways; firstly as a ‘matter of mental indoctrination or behavioural conditioning’ primarily through repetition, and secondly by emphasising the ‘cognitive influence of the “modelled” and “idealized” relations by which ritual defines what is or should be’.³⁰ These two forms of control are effective in different ways; while one conditions the mind to a certain way of thinking, the second relies on the presentation of a specific reality, or ideal, which the individual then desires to attain or maintain.

Such effects make ritual a powerful tool for ruling parties, who may use it to underline their own authority. When looking at how the evidence presented in this chapter may have added to a sense of state legitimacy within Egyptian communities it is, therefore, important to keep these theses in mind; social control in any form may be understood as an important factor in the effective legitimisation of central authority. This does not mean that representatives of the state must be present at such rituals. Instead, those rituals which have developed within a

²⁹ Durkheim (1915: 10) writes that ‘rites are a manner of acting which take rise in the midst of the assembled groups and which are destined to excite, maintain or recreate certain mental states in these groups’. Bell (2009: 171-173), Lukes (1975) and Mackil (2013) also discuss Durkheim’s ‘collective effervescence’, in which ‘a shared emotional experience ... binds those who participate in it to one another and to the ideas and institutions around which a ritual is performed’ (Mackil 2013: 153).

³⁰ Bell notes the importance of Durkheim’s writing, which forms a basis for subsequent theses on ritual and social control (see Bell (2009: 171-177)). The most important of these for the current study is the ‘social solidarity thesis’ by which ‘ritual exercises control through its promotion of consensus and the psychological and cognitive ramifications of such consensus’ (2009: 171); Durkheim writes, for example, that ‘beliefs and practices ... unite into one single moral community ..., all those who adhere to them’ (Durkheim 1915: 47). Hamilton (2001: 113) notes Durkheim’s belief that religion is, in fact, born out of ritual, thus emphasising the key role that ritual plays in controlling and promoting specific social ideas. Further theses include the ‘channelling of conflict thesis’ wherein ritual can be seen as a ‘safety valve’ which diffuses social tensions thus preventing conflicts, and the ‘repression thesis’ through which ritual sacrifice is understood as channelling and repressing human violence so as to pave the way for ‘ordered social life’ (C. Bell 2009: 171-175). The fourth thesis, the ‘definition of reality thesis’ by which ritual ‘models ideal relations and structures of values’ (C. Bell 2009: 175-177), emphasises a different approach wherein ritual presents an ideal social order which may then be internalised by the participants.

specific society will naturally represent its identity, for example through recitations or symbols;³¹ if that identity includes an acceptance of the ruling elite, then the rituals will develop accordingly. Here, the connection between community identity, which is based at least in part on memory, and ritual is emphasised. To effectively use ritual, the state must work itself into the memory and identity of the group.

4.1.5. ISSUES OF THEORY

One must, however, be careful not to assume that those who observe a ritual as outsiders gain the same understanding of its meaning as those who take part in it. Geertz (1973: 113-114) writes that for visitors (observers), rituals are performances to be ‘aesthetically appreciated or scientifically dissected’, while for participants, which include the required audience, they are ‘realisations’ of belief.³² The issue of understanding ritual from an outside perspective has been addressed many times by ritual theorists, with the distinction set out by Geertz, as noted above, between involvement in and observation of the ritual, being emphasised.³³ It is important, therefore, for the researcher, or observer, to attempt to understand the ritual in the same way as it is by both actors and audience, in order to fully comprehend its cultural meaning (C. Bell 2009: 28). Singer’s discussion of cultural performances, however, describes them as consisting of ‘an organised program of activity, a set of performers, an audience, and

³¹ Sperber, a cognitive psychologist, discusses two distinct forms of knowledge in the study of symbolism (Sperber 1979: 91-101); the first incorporates ‘encyclopaedic’ and ‘semantic’ knowledge (i.e. the knowledge of facts and categories), while the second he terms ‘symbolic knowledge’. Symbolic knowledge cannot be disproved by the other forms of knowledge and may exist along statements that are seemingly contradictory, and it is in this that the power of symbolism can be found.

³² See Geertz (1973: 143-146) and Bell (2009: 30-32) for discussion of the ‘thought-action dichotomy’.

³³ Jennings (1982), for example, writes that a key aspect of ritual is that the ‘ritual agent ... makes itself known in a particular way to another.’ He further emphasises the key role of the observer in ‘participating responsively’ in the ritual so as to complete it. Herodotus’ discussions of Egyptian rituals and religious ceremonies is an example of this (Jennings 1982); he writes of the rituals from an academic standpoint, attempting to understand them and find the meaning behind them but seemingly without experiencing them on a personal level, if indeed he did actually witness them at first hand.

a place and occasion of performance' (Singer 1959: xiii); he places even so-called outside observers within the 'audience', thus removing their status as 'outsiders' and placing them firmly within the boundaries of the performance.

Yet even if the observers of an event are given the same importance as the actors and audience it is important to remember that symbolic actions can be interpreted in different ways by different people; even when members of a community subscribe to the same identity, individual members may interpret rituals slightly differently, due simply to their own understanding. Fernandez's study of the Fang Cult looks at the existence of 'consensus' within a specific community; he concludes that the existence of a seemingly homogenous community does not prevent individual interpretations of communal rituals,³⁴ although he still sees ritual as promoting 'social solidarity' (Fernandez 1965: 904). Converse (1964: 213) takes a more systematic approach to the development of different interpretations of ritual; he suggests that political ideas and beliefs in America in the 1950s, which may be seen as underpinning much ritual activity, are not understood by those below the professional classes who encounter such ideas on a regular basis. He argues that ideas become less structured as the level of education decreases, although even the uneducated have some knowledge of 'concrete matters of ritual and mundane taboos'³⁵ (Converse 1964: 261, note 262).³⁶ Although only two examples, these arguments are a reminder that one must not ignore the individual element of interpretation when looking at ritual; an equal understanding of ritual or performance by all of the participants cannot be assumed. Even those who have an equal

³⁴ Fernandez questions if there was a true 'consensus' within the community that was interviewed for the study. He writes (1965: 906), for example, that 'the cult in the eyes of the members queried had a number of manifest functions and that these members differ in assigning priorities to, or even recognizing, these various functions'.

³⁵ Among these can be included practices such as the use of the black cat bone in some north American cultures; the bone, extracted by boiling a black cat, was believed, by some, to have magical properties (see, for example, Puckett (1926: 256-259), Anderson(2005: 22)).

³⁶ Converse bases his conclusions on a study of American voting behaviours in the 1950s; as such it is limited in its scope, but the suggestion that the official beliefs that underpin ritual behaviour may not be accessible to, or understood by, all levels of society, has merit. See also Bell (2009: 185).

involvement in the event may interpret it differently, especially if they fulfil different roles,³⁷ although if the ritual is to be effective in shaping the identity of the group, all of its members must have the same understanding of the basic meanings.

A final, related, difficulty is the lack of recorded evidence from within cults or ritual groups. As Price notes, it tends to be outside observers who record fundamental institutions such as ritual and cult (S. Price 1984: 3); he gives the examples of Dionysius of Halicarnassus who described Roman sacrifices in comparison to Greek ones, and of Herodotus, who recorded the cults of various regions including that of Egypt. Having already noted that events are experienced differently by different people, the bias of evidence towards a specific group, that of outside observers, lends a distinct one-sidedness to modern understanding of cults and rituals, particularly in the ancient world where there is no chance of observing the rituals for oneself. Assmann (1977: 11-12) notes the difference in experience between internal and external individuals in ancient Egypt and recognises a further complication, namely that Egyptian sources assume certain beliefs that are not necessarily held by those outside of the society.³⁸

4.1.6. RITUAL IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

As has already been noted ritual and performance are not necessarily interpreted in the same way by every participant and observer and it is important, when examining such evidence, to

³⁷ See, for example, Bommas (2004) who emphasises the variety of roles required for specific rituals, all of which come together to support the common aim.

³⁸ The Stela of Ikhnofret, dating to the reign of Senwosret III (c. 1870-1831BC), demonstrates this. It describes the performance of the Mysteries of Osiris at Abydos (see Lichtheim (1973: 123-125) for a translation of the text). The description is, however, veiled, referring to various events and duties with no description of what they mean; it, therefore, requires that the reader has an existing knowledge of such details in order to follow the text fully.

be aware of the context in which each experience occurred. With this in mind it is beneficial to look more broadly at ritual in the ancient world, specifically at cults relating to the ruler; by discussing ancient ruler cults more generally it is possible to identify key features of the practice and build a suitable narrative through which to understand Egyptian cults, rather than accessing them solely through the wealth of scholarship relating to more modern ritual practices.

4.1.6.1. ROMAN IMPERIAL CULTS

Roman imperial cults are perhaps the closest correlation to Egyptian memorial cults,³⁹ and so will be briefly discussed here to allow for a discussion of ruler cults in the ancient world. Notably, royal cults in both Roman and Egyptian civilisations could function during the lifetime of the ruler being commemorated⁴⁰ as well as after his or her death.⁴¹ While some Roman imperial cults were short-lived, others, such as that of Augustus,⁴² are found long after his death.⁴³ The Roman emperor was not, however, officially seen as a god in his lifetime; after official deification, upon his death, a temple and priesthood was founded to serve his cult

³⁹ Fears (1988: 1014) suggests that Roman imperial cults were imported from Greek practice, which placed an emphasis on ruler worship from the reign of Alexander the Great (c. 336-323BC). In Greek belief the emphasis was on the ruler achieving divinity, and its related immortality, through the doing of great deeds (Fears 1988: 1012-1013).

⁴⁰ In Egyptian evidence see, for example, T05T03 and T05T04: these titles relate to the memorial cult of Thutmose III, but relevant individuals lived during the reign of that king.

⁴¹ The commonly used term 'mortuary' is, therefore, here somewhat redundant. For this reason the term 'memorial' is used in this study to emphasise the importance of memory as opposed to the necessarily deceased nature of the occupant. Haring (1997), for example, terms them 'memorial' cults to emphasise their memorial as opposed to mortuary aspects. He notes the varied Egyptian terms used in this context relating both to the living and to deceased royal figures, as well as terms such as *ḥwt nt ḥḥw m rnpt* which do not overtly refer to any royal figure (Haring 1997: 20-29, esp. table on p. 29).

⁴² As the first emperor of the Roman Empire, it is possible that the continuation of Augustus' cult beyond his death was due to his position as the founder of a new era; he symbolised an important break with the past, a key element of much of social memory. This is similar to the position of Charlemagne in the time of Napoleon, as discussed by Morrissey (2001).

⁴³ Some monuments were also erected by the family of deceased rulers; an example is the Arch of Titus in Rome, which was erected by the emperor Domitian in honour of his brother, Titus following his death (Dunstan 2011: 353). Of course, by commemorating his brother, and emphasising his victories and successes (particularly as Titus only ruled for two years), Domitian demonstrated his own dynastic right to the throne, which has been identified in this study as an important legitimising factor for ruling elites.

(Weddle 2014: 3716).⁴⁴ This did not, however, preclude such ideas being held unofficially (see Weddle (2014: 3717), Chalupa (2007: 201-202)),⁴⁵ with shrines to the living emperor being found particularly in the Hellenic regions of the empire (Weddle 2014: 3717).⁴⁶ Roman imperial cults, like Egyptian royal cults, therefore, blurred the boundary between the living and the dead ruler as a divine, or semi-divine, being.

Bommas (2013: 209), however, notes that the funerary cults of the two cultures show important differences. Firstly while the deceased emperor in Rome was given honours of a living king (possibly to justify the divine cult), the deceased pharaoh in Egypt was not. Secondly, the funerary procession in Egypt did not include an effigy of the king, unlike in Rome; as this effigy is understood as a visual representation of the two bodies of the king, one must question whether the two persons of the king (the mortal and the eternal) were too closely connected in Egyptian belief to be separated or if this concept was not explicitly recognised. This contrasts with Rome where it appears to have been more clearly defined. One should not, therefore, assume that the treatment of royal (or imperial) ancestors was the same in the two cultures, although parallels do allow for some comparison.

⁴⁴ Gradel (2002: 274) suggests three elements that were key in turning Augustus into a state god. The first was the acquisition of a new name, 'Divus Augustus', the second was the foundation of a state temple to his cult, and the third was the establishment of a college of priests to carry out the temple rituals. These steps ensured the continuation of his cult and his memory. See also Fears (1988: 1014-1015), who writes that the divinity of the emperor was recognised upon his death not because of his status as ruler, but in response to benefits that he had bestowed in that role.

⁴⁵ Chalupa (2007: 202) notes, for example, that, while not being officially recognised as divine, Augustus was the object of divine honours in many principalities, and from private individuals. Gradel (2002: 75) suggests a possible distinction between public and private worship, although he acknowledges (2002: 77-91) that a large amount of evidence points to cults of the living emperor, particularly in the reign of Augustus, leading to a conclusion that Italian municipal cults focused largely on the living emperor and not the dead. Again, this mirrors a practice found in Greek culture, wherein local municipal cults were often founded in honour of the living king; these cults were not instigated by the ruler and were usually in response to a particular act that the ruler had carried out to benefit the locality. See Fears (1988: 1013), who also notes that local municipal cults in ancient Greece should be understood not as political statements (i.e. recognising the king's sovereignty over the region) but as religious ones, wherein the king becomes a local deity.

⁴⁶ Fears (1988: 1015) suggests that Augustus encouraged the cult of his Genius, elevating it in to the 'realm of official worship'.

One cannot even suppose that all such cults functioned in the same way within a single civilisation. Zanker (1988: 304), for example, writes that imperial cults in the west of the Roman Empire, where there was no existing practice of ruler cults, were supported by ‘powerful social and political forces’. In contrast, emperor cults in the east were placed in the existing framework of divine cults, ‘created and organized by the subjects of a great empire to represent to themselves the ruling power’ (S. Price 1984: 1).⁴⁷ Imperial cults, therefore, had a different basis in different parts of the empire, which may have contributed to a different understanding of their meaning.⁴⁸

There were two primary ways of creating an imperial cult; the first involved adding an imperial dimension to an existing cult, such the Nedameia cult at Lesbos (S. Price 1984: 3).⁴⁹ Links in Egyptian society between royal figures and existing cults can also be found, such as at Deir el-Medina where the cult of Hathor became linked with the cult of the king in the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵⁰ The second form is the creation of an entirely new cult, and it is here that Egyptian memorial temples may be found; while Egyptian memorial cults were dedicated

⁴⁷ One order, which maintained cults of Augustus and the Julian emperor, were the Augustales. Ostrow (1990: 364-365) records that the majority of members were former slaves; it is also noted, however, that large donations were required to enter the order and so only the most wealthy freedmen were eligible. Mouritsen (2011: 250) suggests that this group provided an alternative to more elite orders, such as the Sacerdotes and Flamines, of which freedmen could not be members. The Augustales, therefore, gave non-elites the opportunity to be involved in cultic activity which supported the emperor, thus tying them to the political order. Members also helped to fund local events and establishments which, again, could help to support the position of the emperor. Further information on the Augustales can be found in Abramenko (1993), Mouritsen (2006), Laird (2015).

⁴⁸ Beard et al. (1998: 318) warn against treating cults of the ruler in ancient Rome as ‘*the* imperial cult’ but write that there were a range of cults throughout the empire with a focus on the emperor, that functioned in different ways. When studies discuss Roman imperial cults, therefore, one must be careful not to assume that worship of the emperor took the same form in all places and at all times.

⁴⁹ Galinsky (2011: 4-6) also discusses several examples of this, and cautions against considering imperial cults to be the predominant cult in many regions of the empire.

⁵⁰ Exell (2006: 59) also notes that Ramesses II is thought to have visited Deir el-Medina during his reign to inaugurate the Hathor temple, thus strengthening the links between the king and the Hathor cult on the west bank at Thebes. Blumenthal (2001: 48) suggests that the Hathor cult at Deir el-Medina was begun by Ramesses II. Exell (2006b: 160-162) disagrees, however, writing that ‘the monumental evidence suggests that the cult of Hathor Residing in Thebes, originally located at Deir el Bahri, was relocated to Deir el Medina, possibly by Ramesses II, with the emphasis on his living association with Hathor, the Hathor who as a cow suckles and protects the legitimate king’. Evidence of the link between the king and Hathor can also be seen in tomb depictions from the Ramesside Period, for example in TT23 (PM I.I: 41), TT285 (PM I.I:368) and TT326 (PM I.I: 396).

to the king alongside specific gods, each memorial estate was founded anew by the king for whom it would act as a memorial.⁵¹

4.1.6.2. FEATURES OF ANCIENT RULER CULTS

One difficulty when discussing royal memorial cults in the ancient world is in analysing the effects on those who encountered them. Did the fact that they were public displays rather than private practices reduce their importance in people's lives? Price (1984: 117) argues that working to this dichotomy assumes that there was 'an autonomous sphere of privacy which the state was not to violate', which he concludes is incorrect. Luiselli (2008) discusses the concept of 'personal piety' and the many issues relating to how this should be defined,⁵² and what becomes clear is that modern ideas of 'personal' religion cannot be assumed in ancient societies; the concept of 'belief' as a private and individual notion is a very modern, Christian term (S. Price 1984: 10). One must be careful, therefore, not to impose this idea when looking at ancient ritual and cult. The place of the collective is equally as important, and the lack of a private element to ritual should not be taken as evidence that there was no real belief involved; as Price (1984: 11) notes, in the ancient world one finds 'processions and the sacrifices, the temples and the images ... they are the crucially important collective constructs to which the individual reacted. Ritual is what there was.' Additionally, Galinsky (2011: 3) notes that, with the exception of two Augustan cults and one of Tiberius, Roman emperor cults were 'not a centrally steered phenomenon', thus placing the emphasis for their

⁵¹ Although some were placed close to existing memorial cults, presumably in order to link their owner to revered kings of the past. One example of this is the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri which was built next to the temple of Nebhepetra-Mentuhotep, the 'founder' of the Middle Kingdom (thus representing a break with the past).

⁵² See Luiselli (2008) for references.

foundation on the citizens of the regions.⁵³ Here, the importance of cults to individuals may be found, with local communities providing the impetus for the foundation of imperial shrines.

Likewise, the modern tendency to separate religion⁵⁴ and politics must not be imposed upon ancient societies (indeed, this distinction is not even appropriate in many modern societies); such a distinction simply did not exist, as ‘religion’ permeated all areas of life rather than being a separate entity. Latte (1960: 312-326) suggests that the imperial cult in the Roman Empire was an expression of political loyalty,⁵⁵ while Bowersock (1962: 112) posits that it tells ‘little about the religious life ... but much about their ways of diplomacy’. Opinions such as these, whilst not the whole story,⁵⁶ emphasise the interconnected nature of religion and politics, a connection which is very important when looking at ancient Egyptian evidence. In the specific case of ruler cults, Price (1984: 21-24) notes the difficulty of trying to equate them with either religion or politics; if one attempts to place them in the category of religion then they appear as ‘a peculiar limiting case of religious belief [or] the ultimate degeneration of religion’, while if one classifies them as political then such cults are marginalized as being of minimal importance in societies where politics relates to ‘actions, royal policies, diplomacy, war etc.’. Again, one can see that royal cults existed in a society wherein there was no clear division between the two fields, and so attempting to ascribe them to one or the other undermines their importance and prevents full understanding of their nature. Perhaps both religion and politics should both be seen as ‘ways of systematically constructing power’

⁵³ Scheid (2003: 164-165) writes that the imperial cult often ‘originated among the people, in the cities and provinces’, as opposed to being imposed from above. Although see above for the suggestion that western imperial cults were more politically motivated than those in the east.

⁵⁴ Of course, the term ‘religion’ is itself problematic and is used here only to demonstrate the distinction between practices that may be termed ‘religious’ (i.e. cult, ritual, actions pertaining to a god or other supernatural being) and politics.

⁵⁵ See also Rubin (2008: 12) who sees the Roman imperial cult as a way for elites to gain ‘political prestige’ whilst also demonstrating loyalty to the emperor.

⁵⁶ Price (1984: 15) notes that arguments such as these ‘assume that an examination of overt initiatives and of the interests served by the cult exhausts the significance of the phenomenon’ which is an oversimplification of the practice and, so, cannot be accepted as telling the whole story.

(Price 1984: 247), and related religious and political rituals as important expressions of this power.

Ruler cults may be understood as a way to ‘objectify and institutionalize’ the ‘charismatic authority’ of the ruler thus perpetuating a sense of his authority (S. Price 1984: 58).⁵⁷ Price (1984: 59) goes on to note that this ‘routinization of charisma’ could enable its transmission to successors who were, perhaps, less well exalted. The connection of the ruler to his ancestors gave him a claim to this ‘charisma’,⁵⁸ while the celebration of key events in his reign, such as days of accession or birthdays helped to create a lasting basis (S. Price 1984: 61).⁵⁹ Ando (2000: 208-209) notes that in displays linking the king with his predecessors, such as galleries of past emperors, the individual witnessing it did not need to have a detailed understanding of the political system to understand the important point; that the current ruler was the next in a long line of strong and successful leaders.⁶⁰ In Egypt, where the king must demonstrate his good relationship with the gods and his rightful claim to the throne,⁶¹ surely charisma was as much a key element of rule as it was in ancient Rome.

⁵⁷ See also Ando (2000: 209), who writes that ‘all that was essential to the shared history and religion of the empire – and these were by now inextricably entwined – was expressible through piety toward a pantheon of emperors whose succession would ensure peace now and for all time.’

⁵⁸ Fears (1988: 1012) notes the importance of the dynastic cult, for example in ancient Greece; this cult often included the living ruler as the most recent in the dynastic line. He also records that imperial cults in Rome were sometimes extended to the family of the emperor, thus further emphasising the dynastic right of the ruler (Fears 1988: 1017).

⁵⁹ See also McDowell (1992) for discussion of festivals that marked specific anniversaries.

⁶⁰ See also Rubin (2008: 1), who writes in the opening paragraph of his book on the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor that ‘each temple [of the Roman imperial cult] was adorned with an ornate sculptural programme designed to articulate the legitimacy of Roman rule to the people of Asia Minor.’

⁶¹ One demonstration of this was the *sd*-festival although, as it was meant to be celebrated after thirty years of rule, many kings did not live long enough to see it. Berman (1998: 15) writes that it was a ‘festival of royal regeneration, in which the king’s powers were renewed, and his divine nature reaffirmed’, while Bommas (2013: 191) sees the *sd*-festival as an important ritual to confirm the reign of the king in a way similar to that of the daily Investiturritual. Scenes which show the third and final *sd*-festival of Amenhotep III can be found in Theban Tomb TT192 (Kheruef) (The Epigraphic Survey 1980: pls. 49-63), and Kemp (1989: 213-217) provides discussion of the festivals of Amenhotep III. A second festival that must be noted is the Opet festival, an annual festival in the New Kingdom at which the royal *k3* of the pharaoh and, through this, his divine right to rule was reaffirmed (see L. Bell (1998) who also notes the conceptual link between this and the *sd*-festival).

4.2. PERSONAL TITLES RELATING TO ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS

The corpus of evidence which provides a basis for this chapter is of personal titles relating to royal memorial cults (apps. 11-15). This will facilitate a discussion of the importance of such cults in Egyptian society as well as the practicalities of these institutions. Although a seemingly innocuous form of evidence, they offer several issues which must be addressed before analysis can take place. The first and most pressing is whether titles relate to a memorial cult or to service of the living king. There are several criteria that may be looked at when considering this issue:

1. Date. If the context in which the personal title is recorded is from a later date than that of the king or queen it refers to, then it may refer to a memorial cult. Of course, even this distinction is not as simple as it sounds; the titles recorded by individuals had been held throughout their lifetime and so may, in actuality, refer to a period several decades earlier. For example, the funerary cone of Senmen, which has been dated to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, records titles relating to Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (T05T05-T05T14). It is immediately clear that those titles relating to Hatshepsut and Thutmose III refer to royal figures in whose lifetimes Senmen was alive, while the earlier recorded kings may not be. However, titles relating to the earlier kings cannot be assumed to be from memorial cults when the dates of each reign are considered, with the beginning of the reign of Hatshepsut being taken as the earliest point at which the titles can have been recorded (1473 BCE).⁶² The earliest reign, that of Ahmose, for example, ended in 1525 BC which is fifty-two years before the beginning of that of Hatshepsut. If

⁶² Her reign is used rather than that of Thutmose III as it began slightly later, and so provides the earliest point at which the cone can have been made, given that it was dated to hers and Thutmose III's reigns.

fifteen is taken as the minimum age at which an individual would have held a professional post then that means that Senmen must have been at least fifteen years of age in 1525BC.⁶³ To have held a position, therefore, during the reign of Hatshepsut he would have had to have been at least sixty-seven years old at the time of death. In order to decide if he might have worked in the reigns of all of the rulers listed on his funerary cone, one must establish a probable age of death for Senmen. To do this, an average life expectancy for Egyptians in the New Kingdom must be sought.⁶⁴ Bierbrier (1975: xvi) has suggested that ‘middle age’ should be defined as any age between 40-55 years but this does not give a common age of death, while Shafer et al.(1991: 133) suggest a life expectancy of 29.1 once a person had reached the age of fourteen in the Roman Period. Seidlmayer (2003: 62) notes the high level of child mortality and suggests, further, that only half of those who reached the age of twenty would live to celebrate their fortieth birthday. Gauging an average lifespan is, therefore, very difficult.⁶⁵ A further problem with estimating the age of death of the individuals referenced in this study is that they would have belonged to at least the middle classes of society.⁶⁶ Their life expectancy, therefore, is likely to have been higher than for the population at large. It should, however, be noted that much of the evidence on which an average age of death can be drawn from does come from the higher echelons of society who were able to afford mummification and lasting funerary monuments.⁶⁷ Gauging if Senmen could have worked

⁶³ The age at which one became a scribe is difficult to ascertain, but Ragazzoli (2014) posits that the term *sš* was not usually used before the age of fifteen when a professional posting could have been achieved after the completion of scribal training. During training, other terms such as *dd šri* were more commonly used.

⁶⁴ Establishing an exact age of death for Egyptian individuals is difficult, even if a body is identified. See, for example, J. Taylor (1995: 101-102) who notes that the effects of mummification can hamper efforts to find an age of death, with dental analysis being one of the more effective ways although this is far from perfect.

⁶⁵ See also Bommas (2012b: 96-97) who notes the difficulty of calculating an average life expectancy, given the wide variety found in different groups; he notes particularly a life expectancy at Elephantine in the Middle Kingdom of twenty to twenty-four years compared with ages of between thirty and seventy-five at Deir el-Medina in the New Kingdom. This wide range, both between and within sites, presumably based on the quality of life, leaves researchers with no clear average life expectancy.

⁶⁶ This is assumed as they had the means to build decorated tombs or leave written texts.

⁶⁷ Even some of those who held positions at Deir el-Medina were buried in named pits in cemeteries (see, for example, PM I.II: 686-688). Seidlmayer (2003: 60) notes that the non-elite at Elephantine were buried in small,

during the lifetime of Ahmose is, therefore, difficult; it is possible that he did, but should not be assumed.

2. Memorial temples. Establishing that a title was held during the lifetime of the king or queen does not, however, preclude its having been related to a memorial cult. A number of titles include the name of a memorial temple; an example of this is T06T26 which states that the owner, Menkheperra, was a ‘*hm-ntr* of Amun in Henket-Ankh’.⁶⁸ The inclusion of the name of the memorial temple, Henket-ankh, indicates that the title refers to a role within a memorial cult. Some other titles do not include the name of the memorial temple itself but do contain other markers which allude to the memorial estate. The inclusion of *hwt* may be an abbreviation of the term *hwt nt hhw rnpwt* which is most commonly found in reference to royal memorial temples (Haring 1997: 29).⁶⁹ It is notable that some of the titles which fall into this category can be dated to the reign of the king for whom the memorial cult functioned, which shows that their memorial cults were active during their lifetime.

3. The nature of the title. When the status of the title remains unclear after considering the first two criteria it is possible to glean some understanding from the nature of the title itself. Ritual titles such as *wꜥb*, *hm-ntr*, *hry-hb* and *sm*⁷⁰ are likely to have been connected with a temple estate while those of a non-ritual nature, such as *imy-r* (overseer) and *sš* (scribe), are

undecorated, mastaba tombs, usually about 3-4m tall, or even simply wrapped in reed mats; this contrasts with the elaborate burials of officials at Qubbet el-Hawa on the west bank of the river.

⁶⁸ ‘*hm-ntr n Imn m Hnkt-ꜥnh*’.

⁶⁹ The term *hwt*, as found in the designation *hwt nt hhw m rnpwt* was used regularly in the Ramesside Period alongside the prenomen of the king to designate his memorial temple. It is, however, also found in the Eighteenth Dynasty; examples relate to the memorial temples of Amenhotep I (*hwt Dsr-k3-Rꜥ*) and of Thutmose I (*hwt ꜥ3-hpr-k3-Rꜥ*). As noted, the full royal titulary is not usually included in these designations but simply the word *Hwt* and the prenomen of the king or queen (Haring 1997: 22).

⁷⁰ Each of these is a ritual, or priestly, title. They are explained in more detail below, see ch. 4.2.2.

less certain.⁷¹ It has also been posited that the inclusion of the prenomen of the king after the title *imy-r pr* as opposed to the use of the term *nswt* (royal) indicates that the title related to a memorial cult (Whale 1989: 299). Perhaps this distinction may be applied to other non-ritual titles, thus clarifying the nature of some of those which remain enigmatic, though caution must be observed in this.

4. *m3^c-hrw*.⁷² The use of *m3^c-hrw* as a term solely for deceased beings is disputed with some translations focussing on the future tense rather than the present (Harrington 2013: 15).⁷³ It is possible that individuals, particularly the elite, used the term to indicate their own ‘high moral stature’ during their lifetime, demonstrating their certainty that they would be found *m3^c-hrw* after death (Harrington 2013: 15-16). If this were the case then royal figures such as those referred to in the personal titles under investigation would be likely to have taken part in the practice, thus preventing the use of the term as an indicator of the deceased status of the king or queen.⁷⁴

The identification of titles which definitely relate to a memorial cult is not, therefore, as straightforward as it may first seem. Certain criteria have been laid down which help to classify the titles but do not allow definitive analysis of every example, and some that are ambiguous have been included, albeit with caution. This helps to demonstrate the range of possible titles and to allow for as full a discussion of the evidence as possible.

⁷¹ Although the role of non-ritual personnel in memorial estates is discussed below (see, for example, ch. 4.2.2.1.). The title *hry-sš3* (T06T25) also falls into this category, and may have been honorary rather than practical, as it was held by men of high status in the royal administration.

⁷² ‘True of voice’.

⁷³ For example, Schulman (1984: 179, 181) translates the term as he ‘who will be justified’ which places the emphasis on a state that will happen in the future as opposed to that which already exists.

⁷⁴ That the titles refer to memorial cults also makes the use of the term *m3^c-hrw* problematic as it would have been inscribed in memorial temples in preparation for the death of the king and so may have been included in personal titles during the life of the king for this reason also.

A second issue that must be addressed is that of whether the titles recorded, when more than one is found, were held successively or concurrently. There is no explicit attempt to delineate based on chronology either on funerary cones or within tomb decoration, and in the case of memorial cults it is often very difficult to draw conclusions on this issue as the cults were active concurrently. This is evident in the case of the titles T05T05-T05T14⁷⁵ which, as noted above, record titles relating to six pharaohs spanning a period of approximately 125 years.⁷⁶ While the title closest to the name of the individual may have been the most important, this does not necessarily denote a chronology.

A further, related, issue is that of whether titles held during the reign of the king who was being commemorated⁷⁷ should be treated in the same way as those titles which relate to a deceased pharaoh. Many of the titles included in the catalogue for this chapter were held during, or directly after, the reign of the individual that they commemorated (see app. 13).⁷⁸ Was there a clear distinction between living and deceased kings or did institutions such as memorial estates encourage a similar treatment of both? Haeny (1998: 86) writes that ‘Egyptian mortuary temples were built to sustain the life of the deceased in the hereafter’, noting the need to provide food and drink for the dead; this emphasises the blurred line between ‘life’ and ‘death’ in Egyptian belief. Haring (1997: 23-24) notes, furthermore, that the memorial temples at Thebes, termed *ḥwt nt ḥḥw rnpwt*, were not the only temples for which this term was used and so the mortuary aspect of these specific institutions should not be over-emphasised; he suggests that a key aspect of these temples was the connection of the

⁷⁵ See app. 12 for more details of these titles.

⁷⁶ Based on the dating given in Shaw (2000: 481).

⁷⁷ This term is used in its loosest sense.

⁷⁸ App. 13 shows an increase in personal titles relating to royal memorial cults in the reign of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut and Amenhotep II with the cults most commonly recorded being those of Thutmose I and Thutmose III. App. 11 also shows that the occurrence of titles relating to a royal ancestor of more than fifty years previous is low (thirteen out of sixty-nine titles).

king with the local deity, and that the perceived mortuary aspect is simply due to the location of the Theban temples close to the royal necropolis.⁷⁹ The term ‘memorial’ is, therefore used in this study to emphasise the role of the temples as memorials to the king, both during his life and after his death.⁸⁰

A final consideration is the lack of information about what the roles recorded actually were. Many titles are simply that, with no explanation of the practical connotation of holding such a position.⁸¹ It is likely that some titles were primarily honorific while others demanded a more practical involvement in the workings of the estate. In some cases this can be ascertained by information gleaned about the role or by the other titles held by particular individuals, but in others it is more difficult to be certain. An example is the owner of TT96, Sennefer, who held several positions within memorial cults including three ‘overseers’ titles,⁸² but who also held the title of ‘mayor of the southern city’⁸³ (see Urk IV: 1418, 1426, 1428-1430). The high number of overseer titles alongside a mayoral position suggests a man with status, and whose time would have been primarily used in higher levels of state politics rather than the day-to-day running of the temples. These titles, therefore, are likely to have been honorific rather than strictly practical.

⁷⁹ Ullmann (2002: xix) notes, for example, that the concept of a ‘mortuary temple’ is a modern term, and not one which would have been recognised by the Egyptians themselves, and emphasises the role of the temples as housing the *k3* of the king, an aspect possessed by both the living and the dead.

⁸⁰ The meaning of memorial temples is a complex issue and one that cannot be easily resolved. It has already been discussed with relation to depictions of royal individuals, and it is hoped that this analysis of memorial cults and their relation to memory will help to further understanding of it somewhat. See also Schröder (2010), who discusses memorial temples and their theology in detail.

⁸¹ A prime example of this is the title of *iry bnrt* (T09T55) which is found in TT249 and dates to the reign of Amenhotep III. This title has sometimes been translated as ‘bringer of dates’ but the exact translation is uncertain and the practicalities of the role remain elusive (see app. 12 for more details).

⁸² *imy-r pr n Dsr-k3-R^c, imy-r , hm-ntr tpy n Imn m Mn-iswt, sšm hb n ʿ3-hpr-k3-R^c m3^c-hrrw, imy-r ihw nt Imn m Dsr-dsrw*. See app. 12: T07T36-40 for details of these titles.

⁸³ *iry-p^ct n niwt rsy*.

4.2.1. THE EVIDENCE

Titles offer an important insight into personal connections with royal memorial cults. They provide information about what occurred within the cults and offer a signpost towards the way in which individuals played a role within them. For these reasons, titles have been used as the primary form of evidence in this chapter, despite the difficulties set out above.⁸⁴

Evidence for personal titles in Egypt occurs in a range of contexts such as ostraca, papyri, statues, graffiti and so on. As has already been discussed, however, this study will focus on evidence from private memorial contexts; these are predominantly titles recorded on funerary cones and in tomb decoration, although a small amount of graffiti is also included. These forms of evidence will each now be discussed in more detail.

4.2.1.1. FUNERARY CONES

Funerary cones are small clay cones, upon which the flat end is stamped with the name, and sometimes titles, of the owner. They were probably placed over the doorways of tombs, or in a visible location in the facade, with the flat end visible, creating rows of inscribed circles (Zenihiro 2009: 10).⁸⁵ Most these cones have been found on the west bank at Thebes, with the majority dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Zenihiro 2009: 15-22, Stewart 1986: 23). The intended function of the cones is uncertain, with interpretations of tomb markers, symbolic suns and ornaments having been previously offered.⁸⁶ Their positioning on the outer surface of tombs, however, suggests that the information stamped onto them was deemed to be valuable, and that it was desired to be seen and read by visitors. Funerary cones are perhaps

⁸⁴ See app. 15 for details of evidence that has been excluded from the corpus.

⁸⁵ See Zenihiro (2009: 12-15) for examples of depictions of tomb facades with apparent locations of funerary cones, and for further discussion of possible locations of the cones.

⁸⁶ See Zenihiro (2009: 22) for discussion of the various interpretations of the cones.

the most prevalent source of titles relating to royal memorial estates. This is because multiple cones were created for each tomb with a large number being found at Thebes, where the majority of royal memorial cults were active in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁸⁷

Zenihiro (2009: 27) suggests that the titles stamped onto funerary cones were chosen from the sometimes high numbers of titles held by an individual, and represented those that were most valued by the owner.⁸⁸ Consequently, not every title was stamped on the cones, and so some that are relevant to this study may not have been recorded on them.⁸⁹ It is, however, likely that the titles included on the cones were valued by the owner, and therefore represented an important part of his identity.

Unfortunately, funerary cones are problematic as sources because it is often difficult to ascribe them to a specific individual or tomb.⁹⁰ This, in turn, makes dating them difficult;⁹¹ all of the cones, however, which have been securely dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, have been included in this study even if their original tomb location has not been identified. Many funerary cones also contain identical inscriptions, as they were created in multiple for each owner;⁹² in these cases, one example has been included in the catalogue.⁹³

⁸⁷ See Zenihiro (2009: 10-19) for details on the geographical distribution of cones.

⁸⁸ This is based on the comparison of titles found on cones with those found on other media; in these cases the titles found on cones are usually also found on statues and inscriptions, suggesting that they were important.

⁸⁹ It is hoped that the use of other sources in this study, such as graffiti and tomb inscriptions, will help to negate this.

⁹⁰ Stewart (1986: 23) notes that over 70% of the cones that he studied could not be attributed to a specific tomb. Despite their often having moved by the time that they were excavated, funerary cones were originally intended to be immobile additions to private tombs and, for this reason, are included in this study (see above, ch. 1.2.2.3., for discussion of mobile and immobile evidence).

⁹¹ See Macadam (DALEX 2: 108-109) for discussion of the difficulties of dating funerary cones. Where a cone has been dated with reasonable certainty to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the exact date is uncertain, this ambiguity has been addressed in app. 12.

⁹² See, for example, Gauthier (1919: 183-184) who cites thirty-four examples of Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 193) on which is found title T06T23.

⁹³ The study of Davies and Macadam (1957) has been used primarily to inform the catalogue which accompanies this chapter, as it covers large numbers of cones found in a range of sites. Other studies on cones, particularly those of Zenihiro (2009) and Dibley et al. (2009), as well as Haring's book on memorial cults (Haring 1997),

To date twenty funerary cones have been identified that fit the parameters of the study, recording 30 titles relating to royal memorial cults.⁹⁴ Nine of these have been linked with a specific tomb which allows definitive dating⁹⁵ while others have been given probable dates based on stylistic factors.⁹⁶ The dates range from the reign of Thutmose I⁹⁷ to that of Horemheb.⁹⁸ While being referred to as ‘memorial cults’ the majority of titles referred to on funerary cones relate to the cult of living king with only a small number being definitely linked with a deceased royal figure.⁹⁹ Of the titles included on funerary cones five of them name a specific memorial temple,¹⁰⁰ while another two include the term *hwt* to denote the temple of a named pharaoh.¹⁰¹

While most funerary cones contain one title relating to a memorial cult, Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 375) includes the titles listed in app. 11 as T05T05-T05T014 which relate to Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. This cone records the career of one man who served in the cults of a large number of Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs, and brings to the fore the issue of whether such lists should be seen as representing the progression of a career over a lifetime or whether the titles were held simultaneously. Haring (1997: 426) has suggested that these titles are, in fact, a record of the

have added more recently discovered examples to the current catalogue. Where several examples of an identical cone have been cited in the literature, the cone recorded in Davies and Macadam (1957) has been used where possible to provide an example in the catalogue, although other known examples have been acknowledged. Where a copy has not been found in Davies and Macadam, another example has been used.

⁹⁴ T03T01, T05T03, T05T04, T05T05-14, T05T15-6, T05T17, T06T19-20, T06T23-4, T06T25, T06T30, T07T31, T07T33, T07T48, T07T49, T08T51, T09T56, T14T63-4 (c.f. Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 1, 54, 85, 90, 95, 121, 152, 193, 204, 228, 232, 272, 297, 361, 375, 393, 413, 430, 532, 590)).

⁹⁵ (Davies and Macadam 1957: nos. 90, 95, 121, 193, 204, 232, 272, 297, 532) although the identification of some cones are questioned (see app. 12: T03T23-24, T06T30, T14T63-T14T64).

⁹⁶ See app. 12 for details.

⁹⁷ T03T01, see Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 85).

⁹⁸ T14T63-64 date to the reigns of Aye-Horemheb, see Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 204, 532).

⁹⁹ T14T63, T14T64, see Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 204, 532).

¹⁰⁰ T05T03, T05T15, T05T16, T07T31, T07T33 (cf. Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 1, 90, 297, 393)); note that T05T015 and T05T016 belong to the same individual.

¹⁰¹ T09T56, T14T63, see Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 430, 532).

owner having served each of these pharaohs respectively rather than being related to their memorial cults, in which case it must be seen as documenting the career trajectory over a number of years; this would, of course, place this funerary cone outside of the remit of this study as it would preclude it relating to any memorial cults. However, given the years represented by the reigns recorded on the cone it seems likely that the titles do relate to deceased kings in at least the earlier cases, and the continuation of the same epithets for each king suggests that the position (i.e. within a memorial cult) was continued. Perhaps Thutmose III and Hatshepsut may be seen as the exceptions to this; the phrase at the end of the text refers to Senmen as ‘honoured by’ Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which suggests that the cone was created during their reign. However, as has already been discussed, this does not preclude Senmen’s role having been in their memorial cult.¹⁰²

There is no indication on cones which include more than one title of whether they were held concurrently or successively. Both options must, therefore, be considered. As already noted, the holding of multiple titles at the same time suggests that they were primarily honorific rather than practical,¹⁰³ which would change the way in which the roles themselves should be understood. If the titles were held successively, then the later titles presumably represent the high point of an individual’s career. Honorific and practical titles are discussed in more detail below, while the idea that some titles indicated a higher status is also addressed, although its relation to the order of titles recorded on funerary cones is not explicitly discussed.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² See app. 12 (T05T05-T05T14) for a translation of the cone and more discussion.

¹⁰³ See above, ch. 4.2.

¹⁰⁴ This is because the only cone to hold more than two titles has a clear chronological order which explains the choice of which title to list where (T05T05-T05T14). The usual order of titles in Egyptian evidence, however, is to place the most important title last and so it is likely that this would have been the case in instances where more than one was recorded.

4.2.1.2. TOMB DEPICTIONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Apart from on funerary cones, personal titles were also recorded within private tombs themselves. Unlike funerary cones, these can be ascribed to the correct tomb owner with far less margin for error. Tomb owners also sometimes recorded the titles of family members or acquaintances which extends the corpus further.

Thirty-five titles relevant to this study are recorded in tomb decoration. The dating of titles found in this context is easier than those found on funerary cones as they are already connected with a tomb; the earliest date to the reign of Thutmose I¹⁰⁵ while the latest are from the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁰⁶ The titles relate to a range of royal figures; Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Thutmose I, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Iset (the mother of Thutmose III), Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Horemheb. Nine of these can be attributed with fair certainty to dates after the reign of the king or queen in question,¹⁰⁷ while eleven specifically name a memorial temple¹⁰⁸ and a further six include the term *hwt*.¹⁰⁹

The practice of including relatives and acquaintances within tomb decoration allows some identification of the variety of titles within a family or friendship group. An example of this occurs in TT248, dated to the reign of Thutmose III - Amenhotep II, in which several individuals are shown alongside their titles. The tomb owner, Djehutymes, is recorded as

¹⁰⁵ An example can be found in TT345 which records the owner, Amenhotep, as *‘wꜥb sꜣ nswt tpy n ꜥꜣ-hpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ’* (T06T21).

¹⁰⁶ An example is found in TT255, which states that Djehuty, an acquaintance of the tomb owner, is the *‘hm-ntr tpy nb ꜥꜣwy ꜥhms-nfrt-iry’* (T14T67). This tomb is dated to the reign of Horemheb-Seti I and it is likely that the owner lived beyond the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. But as his life and, therefore, those of the other people depicted in the tomb, appears to have spanned the reign of Horemheb it has been included in this study.

¹⁰⁷ These tombs were built in reigns that were at least fifty years after that of the royal ancestor recorded; T07T36, T07T37, T07T38, T07T39, T07T41, T07T42, T08T50, T14M65, T14T67.

¹⁰⁸ T06T26, T06T28, T07T31, T07T32-33, T07T34, T07T35, T07T38, T07T40, T07T45-47.

¹⁰⁹ T08T53, T09T54, T09T55, T09T57, T14T61-62, T14M65.

being an ‘offerer of Thutmose III’, while three acquaintances hold other titles relating to memorial cults; Nehet is recorded as a ‘*wꜥb* of Thutmose I’, Khaemnetjer is called the ‘*wꜥb* of Amenhotep II’, and Mery is named as ‘*wꜥb* of the royal mother Iset’.¹¹⁰ Here are titles relating to three different kings, Thutmose I, Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, as well as to the mother of Thutmose III. Three of the individuals hold the title *wꜥb* but each relates to a different royal individual; it is not possible, therefore, to draw conclusions on the practice of passing titles down within a family based on the evidence given here, although it is probable that this did happen.¹¹¹

4.2.1.3. GRAFFITI

As has already been discussed, graffiti can be found in both private and state memorial contexts, although the majority are on state monuments. Seven titles relating to royal memorial cults have been found in private graffiti; one is located at Memphis,¹¹² while the other six are at Thebes.¹¹³ Unfortunately, again, dating these titles can be problematic. Issues relating to the date can arise for several reasons; some of these are unique to graffiti, while others are equally relevant to all evidence of personal titles in this study.¹¹⁴ One challenge, as found with all evidence in this study, is dating the evidence securely; while the monument on which graffiti are found can usually be dated, the addition of unsolicited texts can occur at any

¹¹⁰ Titles T07T41-T07T44.

¹¹¹ Only a small part of the decoration from this tomb has survived so it is not known what other titles the individuals held. *wꜥb* is a common title and was often held alongside other positions. It is possible that these titles have been recorded alongside each because of their relationship to royal memorial cults; the scene that they are attached to shows acquaintances of the tomb owner bringing offering to him and his wife and so, perhaps roles within a memorial cult were deemed suitable for such a scene.

¹¹² T05M02 (see also G05M13).

¹¹³ T11T58, T11T59-T11T60, T14T66 (see also G14T23), T00T68-69 (see also G00T25).

¹¹⁴ All relevant challenges have been noted here, even if they are found across all forms of evidence relating to personal titles. This is to highlight which are relevant to graffiti and also to highlight possible solutions in this context.

point afterwards.¹¹⁵ A second challenge arises in simply estimating the lifespan of the graffitist and ascertaining if the title was current at the time that it was recorded.¹¹⁶

Additionally, problems occur when the title is held not by the graffitist but by a member of his family;¹¹⁷ when this is the case, one must estimate the lifetime of the owner of the title, and gauge whether or not it refers to a memorial cult.¹¹⁸ Graffiti which include titles that refer to the living king, again, require more analysis to assess if the title refers to his memorial cult, or to the service of the current pharaoh.¹¹⁹ A final challenge, although again one that is not unique to graffiti, is found when looking at titles that do not specifically name a memorial estate; when more general terms are used, one must assess if the title does, indeed, refer to a memorial estate or to another type of institution.¹²⁰ Each of these challenges is addressed

¹¹⁵ See, for example, T00T68-T00T69 which are found in TT504 and record Nebwaw as ‘*w^cb sš hwt n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c*’ (‘*w^cb* and scribe in the temple of Thutmose I’). There has been some uncertainty as to the date of this graffito. Marciniak (1981: 288) suggests a date of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Phillips (1986: 82 no. 25), however, analyses various signs within the inscription and concludes that it, in fact, dates from the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹¹⁶ Similar issues occur in all records of personal titles. Of course, it is never possible to be sure whether the titles recorded were held by the individual at the time of writing or represented a career trajectory over a number of years but where only one title, or a small number of titles, have been recorded, it is possible that they represent the most important, and recent, roles held by the graffitist.

¹¹⁷ This occurs only rarely on funerary cones, but is also found in tomb decoration texts.

¹¹⁸ For example T05M02, which records Amenmesu as being the ‘*hry-ḥb* of Aakheperkara’. The text itself is dated to year 41 of the reign of Thutmose III, but the title refers to the father of the graffitist. If one assumes that the graffitist was at least fifteen years of age when he wrote this graffito and that his father was twenty years of age when his son was born this would place the birth of Amenmesu towards the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III. If these estimates are increased so that the graffitist, Aakheperkarasonb, was thirty at the time that he wrote the graffiti and Amenmesu was also thirty when he fathered Aakheperkarasonb, then this places the birth of Amenmesu during the reign of Thutmose III. If these estimates are again upped to forty, then Amenmesu would have been of working age within the reign of Thutmose I. If this were the case then it is possible that the title refers to a position held within the household of the living king Thutmose I and not in his memorial estate or after his death. Again, it is not possible to know which of these interpretations is correct; it is likely that the position referred to was within Thutmose I’s memorial estate based on the ritual nature of the title itself, but it is important to be aware that certainty in these matters is often not possible, and in this case it cannot be ascertained definitively whether or not this title relates to a memorial estate. However, as the possibility is still open, it will be included in this discussion.

¹¹⁹ This issue is also found regularly when looking at the titles recorded on funerary cones. In graffiti, a group of titles, T11T59-T11T60, record the positions of a man in the memorial estate of Smenkhara (see app. 12 for discussion of the cartouches, and Gardiner (1928: 10)). These texts have been dated to the reign of Smenkhara and, so, referred to the living king, but the inclusion of the term *hwt* implies that the estate mentioned is, in fact, his memorial estate (see Haring (1997: 22)).

¹²⁰ A particular question in this regard relates to the graffito of Maya in KV43, T14T66, which states the he was the ‘*imy-r k3t m hwt n[t] ḥḥw*’ (‘overseer of works in the house of eternity’). This graffito, therefore, gives Maya the title of overseer of works in a memorial estate but does not specify which one (see Haeny (1998: 89-90), Haring (1997: 20-29) for discussion of the term *hwt nt ḥḥw rnpwt*). It is likely that the estate being referred to is that of Horemheb in whose reign it was recorded. However, the tomb it is written in belongs to Thutmose IV and

where necessary, with each graffito being judged on its own merits so that conclusions can be drawn about its relevance to the current study.¹²¹

4.2.2. THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS

As noted earlier, this evidence does not include details about the practicalities of working within a royal memorial estate; it simply states the titles held by a specific individual. As such there is a limit as to how much information it can give about the roles of individuals in royal memorial cults. However, it does provide some information from which conclusions can be gleaned.

First and foremost these titles demonstrate that individuals did hold positions within royal memorial cults and that these positions were deemed worthy of being recorded in private tombs or in monumental graffiti. This is a testament to the value placed on them by the people who held them. By recording these titles in their funerary monuments or in the graffiti with which they marked the monuments of others, individuals adopted them as a key part of their own identity and displayed this for others to see.

Further to this titles can help researchers to understand more about the types of roles that were found in royal memorial estates. Two key types of titles are found; those that were, in a sense, honorary (i.e. the holding of the position did not require a practical role within the estate) and those that were practically linked with the mortuary estate. Some of the people who held a

so it can be deduced that Maya's role also included restoring the tomb of this king. Perhaps, therefore, his role of 'overseer of works' extended to more than one memorial estate. As such, this position should not be seen as relating to any one specific memorial estate or king, but is included as an example of a role clearly relating to royal memorial establishments but without any definite identification.

¹²¹ See app. 12 for details of each title.

position within royal memorial estates can be termed ‘specialists’, individuals who had access to cultural memory stores and who had the knowledge to present the memory to others.¹²² Looking at some of the roles in more detail can help to develop a better understanding of memorial cults and their place in the lives of the Egyptian people, and so a selection of titles will now be discussed.

4.2.2.1. THE *IMY-R* (OVERSEER)

A whole host of titles beginning with the term *imy-r* are found in the corpus, relating to a variety of different roles;¹²³ *imy-r iḥw* (overseer of cattle), *imy-r pr (wr)* ((chief) steward), *imy-r ḥꜥw* (overseer of boats), *imy-r ḥm-ntr* (overseer of *ḥm-ntrw*), *imy-r šnꜥ* (overseer of the storehouse), *imy-r šnwty* (overseer of the two storehouses (of Upper and Lower Egypt)).¹²⁴

While each relates to a different aspect of temple life, the focus here will be on the position of the overseer as opposed to focusing on each role separately. Haring suggests that individuals who held the titles *imy-r pr* and *imy-r iḥw* were not actually resident in western Thebes but held them alongside many other state titles; they were overseers in name rather than in actuality, leaving the practical running of the temple estate to the *sm* (Haring 1997: 230).¹²⁵

This leaves one with the question of whether the overseers of various temple institutions

¹²² As discussed in the introduction, specialists are a key element of cultural memory, as put forward by Assmann (see, for example, ch. 1.5.1).

¹²³ The title *imy-r sbꜣw* has not been included here as it appears to translate as ‘doorkeeper’ (the individual being an ‘overseer’ of doors), and so is not an ‘overseers’ title in the same category as the others listed here. See app. 12 (T05T16) for discussion of this title, and the possibility that it may, in fact, be translated as ‘overseer of teachers’.

¹²⁴ Note that the titles *imy-r šnꜥ* and *imy-r šnwty* have been included separately. Although the titles may, in fact refer to the same role, the emphasis in the second on the ‘two storehouses’ suggests a connection with Upper and Lower Egypt, and may imply that they were not the same; perhaps the first was an overseer of the granaries of the specific temple whilst the second held a higher position linked with the granaries of the wider area. Although these do not explicitly relate to the management of people (unlike the other titles listed here), the context suggests that they were management roles which required the overseeing of the granaries and of the staff that worked in them (see Haring (1997 242-243)).

¹²⁵ See below, ch. 4.2.2.2., for more on the role of the *sm*.

were, in fact, high officials who treated the titles as honorary. As noted, some of the overseers' titles were probably exactly this, but this does not mean that the same is true of all of them.

It is possible that some of the overseers' titles, such as the 'overseer of *ḥm-ntrw*', denoted the chief practitioners in their field who did fulfil a practical role within the temple estate, although Shafer (1998: 13) suggests that this role was held by a senior official who was also the 'Governor of the Town' in the early New Kingdom. Sennefer, the owner of TT96,¹²⁶ held the positions of *imy-r ḥm-ntr* and *ḥm-ntr tpy* ('first *ḥm-ntr*' or 'high priest') in memorial cults during his lifetime; perhaps this can be seen as showing his career progression from 'first' to 'overseer',¹²⁷ which suggests that he was a practitioner rather than a state official, although the two are not necessarily exclusive. However, Sennefer also held other titles such as *imy-r iḥw* and *imy-r pr*, which have already been noted as being probably honorific, and so it cannot be assumed that he was involved in the practicalities of the memorial cult. This issue further demonstrates the problem of not knowing the dates at which specific titles were held so that it is not possible to know whether they were held successively or concurrently.

If titles were honorific, one must question if they should be viewed in the same way as titles which required an active involvement in the memorial cult. Firstly it must be noted that just because a role was primarily honorific does, it not mean that it did not have some practical aspects; it is likely that many of the overseers were involved to some extent in the temple estates themselves, even if only at certain points during the year such as at festivals or large events. It should also be acknowledged that even if these roles did not denote a practical

¹²⁶ See T07T36-T07T40.

¹²⁷ The *ḥm-ntr tpy* was the highest practical role in the temple. Shafer (1998: 13) suggests that after the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, the title *imy-r ḥm-ntr* became known as *ḥm-ntr tpy* and was held by a member of the elite. This is challenged, however, by the fact that Sennefer held both titles.

involvement in the working of memorial temples, they still held an importance for the owner as shown by the fact that they recorded them in their tombs and graffiti. These titles, which linked the owner with a specific royal ancestor through his or her memorial cult, were a valued part of the identity of the individual. As such their importance should not be discounted. Furthermore they identified the owner as a part of a group or community, that of the specific temple for which they were an overseer; the identity of this group was fundamentally connected with the royal ancestor whose temple they were active in.

4.2.2.2. THE *SM*

The title *sm* is only attested once in the evidence and is held by a man named Meryptah who was the *sm* in the temple of Amenhotep III.¹²⁸ The title has been dated to the reign of Amenhotep III but its specific mention of his ‘temple’ shows that it was linked to his memorial estate.¹²⁹ This title was held by the highest member of temple personnel; as Haring notes, each temple probably only had one *sm* at any given time (Haring 1997: 214).¹³⁰ Helck (1961: 80) suggests that the role of *sm* replaced that of the *hm-ntr tpy* from the middle of the

¹²⁸ T09T57. Haring (1997: 214) suggests that this may be the earliest evidence of this title.

¹²⁹ The title reads ‘*sm n t3 hwt [nb-M3^ct-R^c imy-r Pth-mry m3^c-hrw]*’. As discussed above, the term *hwt* denotes a memorial temple, in this case that of Amenhotep III (see app. 12 for discussion of the identification of this title with the memorial temple of Amenhotep III).

¹³⁰ Haring (1997: 214-215) discusses the relation of the *sm* to royal memorial cults, noting that temples from the period in question do not include mentions of the *sm* linked with royal memorial cults, although this does not preclude such a link having existed. He suggests that the title may have been linked instead with the cult of Ptah, or that it may have been connected with the cults of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris which, in turn, provided a link with the memorial temples on the west bank at Thebes (see also Schmitz, (LÄ V: 833-836), Kees (1953: 63), Haeny et al. (1981: 31-37)). Schmitz (LA V: 833-834) records that early instances of the role of the *sm* show the son of a deceased king in that role leading his mortuary cult, while Shafer 1998: 12) notes that representations of the *sm* in the Third Dynasty were applied to the individual who wore the sidelock of youth and the panther skin and who ‘played the role of the oldest living son in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and other burial rituals’. It is not, therefore, possible to link the title of *sm* definitely with a memorial temple at Thebes, especially due to the uncertainty of the evidence provided by T09T57, but it would appear that the *sm* was either linked specifically with a memorial temple or that his role was within a temple that had a link with the memorial cults of deceased royal figures. In either case his position was connected with the activities of royal memorial estates.

New Kingdom,¹³¹ which supports the hypothesis that it was the highest form of authority amongst practical temple personnel.¹³²

As this role was prestigious it is likely that individuals who held this position also held other titles, as is noted by Teeter (2011: 25) who records that Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II, held the title of *sm* whilst also being a prominent state official. This suggests that, whilst being officially in charge of the daily running of the temple, the *sm* may not have been actively present in the estate much of the time. It should not, however, be assumed that he was not involved in the ritual activities of the temple, and it is quite possible that men who held this position were active within the temple estate at least at certain points throughout the year.¹³³ In terms of Meryptah, the individual pertinent to this study, it is difficult to conclude whether he held other titles alongside that of *sm*; the title appears in a tomb that does not belong to him and so it is not possible to link any other titles to this individual. No tombs have been definitely identified as his and so further investigation is difficult.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Haring (1997: 214-215) notes that the title of *hm-ntr tpy* occurs alongside that of *sm* until the reign of Ramesses II but not after this date. Sauneron (2000: 41) does not mention the role of the *sm* except to note that they wore panther skins, which he interprets as evidence of their position as either ‘specialists’ or ‘high priests’. This, again, supports the suggestion that the *sm* held a position of some authority.

¹³² See Haring (1997: 215-220) for discussion of the various areas over which the *sm* had authority within the temple estate including property and personnel. Although the evidence cited by Haring postdates the period under discussion, it does illustrate the wide remit of the *sm* and the importance of his role in the temple estate. Teeter (2011: 25) notes that *sm* was a ‘prestigious role’, using the example of Khaemwaset, the son of Ramesses II, who placed this title above that of *s3 nswt*, to demonstrate this point.

¹³³ Images of Khaemwaset as the *sm* of Ptah, along with his father Ramesses worshipping the god Apis, suggest that he may have played an active role in some aspects of the cult, even if only sporadically (see Kitchen (1982: 103-104)). Of course, how much of what was depicted in monumental scenes actually took place is open to debate and so this assumption cannot be confirmed.

¹³⁴ The only tomb at Thebes which has been identified as belonging to a Meryptah is TT387 which is dated to the reign of Ramesses II (Kampp 1996: 644). It must be concluded, therefore, either that the tomb of Meryptah is as of yet unidentified, or that it is not the in the Theban necropolis thus making identification difficult. It is likely, however, that if Meryptah was a *sm* in a temple on the west bank at Thebes, that his tomb would have been located at Thebes and so is either unfound or too damaged for identification.

4.2.2.3. ‘LESSER’ ROLES¹³⁵

Underneath the overseers and the *sm* were a selection of titles which denoted specific practical roles within the temple estates. These titles include *it-ntr* (god’s father), *w^cb*, *wdnw* (offerer),¹³⁶ *iry-^ct* (hall-keeper), *imy-r sb3w* (doorkeeper),¹³⁷ *hm-ntr*, *hry-hb*, and various scribes (*sš*). Each of these titles implies a specific ritual or practical role within the temple estate, and suggests that the individual was active within the memorial cult.

The *hry-hb* had an important ritual role reciting texts and formulae necessary for temple cults and rituals (Shafer 1998: 12). It is likely, therefore, that the men who held it were important members of the local hierarchy, if not the national hierarchy when the temple in question was a royal memorial temple. However, the role still demanded an active involvement in temple life as without the involvement of the *hry-hb*, who was responsible for recitation, rituals could not take place. Despite not being an elite position, this role clearly denotes its holder as a specialist, one who had knowledge of rituals and how to enact them.

The title *it-ntr* occurs once in the corpus relating to the temple of Amenhotep III.¹³⁸ Haring (1997: 222) suggests that the *it-ntr* had a particular role in caring for cult objects while Shafer (1998: 15) suggests that his duties included ‘sprinkling the route’ of processions with purifying water as well as acting as craftsmen.¹³⁹ Again, the practical role of the individual

¹³⁵ The term ‘lesser’ is not used to suggest that these roles were in any way less vital to the running of the temple estate but simply to mean they tended to be more mundane in practice, rather than being held by elite members of society.

¹³⁶ Little is known about this role beyond its literal translation of ‘offerer’ and so it will not be discussed further in this section. See app. 12 (T07T43) for discussion of the location of the temple to which this title was linked.

¹³⁷ The translation of this title is uncertain (see T05T16) and so it will not be used in the following discussion.

¹³⁸ T14T62, belonging to Sobekmes and dating to the post-Amarna period. The owner also holds the title of *w^cb* in the temple of Amenhotep III, and records the title *it-ntr tpy* (‘head *it-ntr*’) which, again, may represent the progression of a career although this cannot be confirmed.

¹³⁹ See also Helck (1982: 1089), Brovarski (1982: 389).

should be noted; this title was not simply honorific but demanded an involvement in temple ritual and processions.

The title *hm-ntr* is found six times in the corpus with another five instances of *hm-ntr tpy* also recorded.¹⁴⁰ Shafer (1998: 10) writes that the *hm-ntr* ‘prepared offerings, performed rituals, had access to the sanctuary of the divine image, and controlled entrance to the temple’. This immediately highlights the practical aspects of this role.

The *wꜥb* was the lowest level of priest and is found seventeen times in the corpus, with a further instance of the title *wꜥb ꜥwy* (‘pure of hands’) also occurring, which may be connected. Divided into phyles each of which served for part of the year, the *wꜥb*’s duties included carrying royal and divine statues in processions as well as doing administrative duties when necessary (Shafer 1998: 15). Haring (1997: 222-223) calls them ‘by far the commonest class of priests working in the temples’ and notes the frequency with which such individuals are found to have held other practical titles alongside that of *wꜥb*.¹⁴¹ This shows, firstly, that the duties of the *wꜥb* were not all-encompassing and that time was left to fulfil other roles (possibly linked to the phyle system), but it also shows the practical and active role that these men played within the temple estate. Furthermore, the recording of a title ‘*wꜥb* of the royal mother, Iset’¹⁴² (the mother of Thutmose III) acts as a reminder that *wꜥbs* were involved not only in rituals relating to the primary royal ancestor at a temple, but also in rituals to other royal figures, such as honoured queens. These men, therefore, were deeply involved with the workings of the memorial temple and its environs.

¹⁴⁰ The title *hm-ntr tpy* has already been noted above as denoting the ‘high priest’.

¹⁴¹ See Haring (1997: 223-224) for discussion of the various roles which are found alongside that of *wꜥb*, including coppersmith, gardener, scribe and ‘guardian’.

¹⁴² T07T41.

Scribes are found seven times in the corpus; this title is, in and of itself, somewhat meaningless, but it usually precedes a more specific role, such as *sš hwt* (scribe of the temple)¹⁴³ or *sš n t3 k3t* (scribe of works).¹⁴⁴ The role of a scribe was, as the name suggests, to record the goings on of the estate or of a specific aspect of it. For example Menkheperasonb, the owner of TT79, was the *sš htpw-ntr* ('scribe of divine offerings') in the temple of Thutmose III; his job was to record all of the offerings and items brought into the temple (Haring 1997: 230-231). These roles, therefore, whilst not being specifically ritual, did play an important part in the workings of the temple estate, and were not necessarily completely separate from the ritual activity in the environs. Again, scribes should be seen as fulfilling a practical role which was necessary for the smooth running of the estate and of the rituals therein.

4.2.2.4. THE *ŠMꜣYT* ('CHANTRESS')

One title in the corpus belongs to a female individual, that of *šmꜣyt*. This title is held by Mutneferet, who is recorded in TT98 as a *šmꜣyt* of Thutmose I.¹⁴⁵ Although there is only one recorded instance of a female title relating to a royal memorial cult in the period under investigation it does show that such roles were not unheard of. Indeed Blackman (1921: 151) suggests that 'almost every woman who dwelt in or near Thebes during the New Kingdom ... served as a musician priestess'. Obviously this is an exaggeration but it demonstrates the frequency with which this title occurred. Onstine has recorded a high number of instances of the title in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period;¹⁴⁶ she notes a possible

¹⁴³ For example T07T34.

¹⁴⁴ T09T56.

¹⁴⁵ T08T50.

¹⁴⁶ She notes that the title is first recorded in the reign of Hatshepsut when five occurrences are noted; between this reign and the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty Onstine (2005: 27) cites 103 *šmꜣyt*. In the Ramesside Period she

connection with Hathor but suggests that it may, in fact, have been connected with Meret in her role of announcing the king at festivals (Onstine 2005: 12). Fischer (1982: 1102) notes that the title *šmꜣyt* had become, by the New Kingdom, a ‘ubiquitous’ female title linked with a large number of cults, and so to draw any detailed conclusions about the role may be unrealistic. The word itself, which may be translated ‘chantress’ suggests a musical or at least vocal aspect and it is likely that such women were involved in processions and ritual activity.¹⁴⁷ Again, therefore, one is left with a title that denotes an active role within the temple estate.

4.2.2.5. INDIVIDUALS AND ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS

Some titles, therefore, denoted roles that were primarily honorific, while others demanded a more practical involvement either in the ritual activity or the general workings of the temple estate. While practical roles possibly encouraged a more personal connection with the royal ancestor in question and with the connected community, all of the titles supported both an individual and a collective link with the owner of the memorial cult. The inclusion of the name of the ancestor, or of his or her temple, in the title shows this personal connection.

Further to this the holding of such a title gave individuals a sense of belonging to a community which was centred around the commemoration of a specific royal ancestor. Those

counts 274 *šmꜣyt* which suggests that the title became more frequent under the Ramesside kings. The Twentieth Dynasty shows a reduction in the number of *šmꜣyt* (Onstine 2005: 29-30). She also suggests (2005: 29-32) that greater numbers of women with this title at specific times may be related to attempts by the state to legitimise the position of the king at times where his or her position may be seen as being unstable. She notes, for example, the high numbers of *šmꜣyt* in the reign of Ramesses II, arguing that women were encouraged to adopt this title in order to cement the link between them and the state which would, in turn, tie them to the religious and political order. Whether this is true cannot be confirmed, but it does show the potential for personal titles to be used in the process of state legitimisation through creating a personal link with the state.

¹⁴⁷ The Wörterbuch translates it as ‘singer’, although also connecting it with the sistrum, and noting that it is often followed by the name of a deity (‘the singer of ...’) (see Wörterbuch IV: 479).

whose roles were ritual can be understood as being ‘specialists’;¹⁴⁸ their knowledge ensured that cultic activities were carried out correctly and that the traditions contained within them were continued. It was not, however, an individual experience but a communal one; although only some individuals retained the knowledge of how to enact specific rituals, the memorial estate became a lieu de mémoire for all who worked within it and interacted with it. The involvement of the community in the rituals and festivals, as well as in the upkeep of the estate, allowed this memory to develop.

4.3. ROYAL MEMORIAL ESTATES

Of course, royal memorial estates were not only important to those people who held roles within them. They also played a part in the wider community as locations for public festivals and as important features of the landscape. This aspect of royal memorial temples will now be addressed.

4.3.1. THE EVIDENCE

4.3.1.1. PERSONAL TITLES

The evidence discussed above documents several memorial temples which were active in the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁴⁹ Four temples are named directly; the most common, that of Thutmose III, is recorded ten times as *Hnkt-ꜥnh*,¹⁵⁰ while the temple of Thutmose I, *Hnmt-ꜥnh*, is

¹⁴⁸ They are identified by Bell (2009: 135) as being a key part of ritual and by Assmann as being a vital to the development of cultural memory (see, for example, Assmann 2010: 114).

¹⁴⁹ See app. 14 for the frequency of occurrences of the names of each memorial temple.

¹⁵⁰ T05T03, T05T15-16, T06T26, T07T32-33, T07T34, T07T45-47.

included twice,¹⁵¹ and *Dsr-dsrw*, the temple of Hatshepsut, is found twice.¹⁵² A further reference to the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari, *Mn-iswt* occurs once.¹⁵³ Other temples are alluded to through the use of the term *hwt*; *hwt Imn-htp* is found once,¹⁵⁴ *hwt ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ* occurs twice,¹⁵⁵ *hwt Mn-hpr-Rʕ* is recorded twice,¹⁵⁶ *hwt Mn-hprw-Rʕ* occurs once,¹⁵⁷ *hwt Nb-M3ʕt-Rʕ* is mentioned in five titles,¹⁵⁸ and *hwt ʕnh-hprw-Rʕ* is found three times.¹⁵⁹ One further phrase should be noted from the graffito of Maya in KV43 which records his position as ‘overseer of works in the house of eternity’ (*imy-r k3t m hwt-nhh*); this title does not name a specific temple, but one can assume that Maya was employed in the memorial temple of Horemheb, to whose reign this graffito dates, although it is quite possible that he had previously held the same position in other memorial estates. The most commonly recorded temple is that of Thutmose III although it is not mentioned after the reign of Amenhotep II. This pattern is followed in all of the evidence; temple names are not directly given after the reign of Amenhotep II with references instead to *hwt NN* after this point. In return, the term *hwt* followed by the name of a royal figure to denote his or her temple does not occur before the reign of Thutmose IV. This suggests that royal memorial temples may have been referred to not by their names but by the name of their builder in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ T06T28, T07T35.

¹⁵² T07T31, T07T40.

¹⁵³ T07T38.

¹⁵⁴ T14T63.

¹⁵⁵ T00T68-9.

¹⁵⁶ T09M54, T14M65.

¹⁵⁷ T08T53.

¹⁵⁸ T09T55, T09T56, T09T57, T14T61-62.

¹⁵⁹ T11T58, T11T59-60.

¹⁶⁰ See app. 14.

Further royal names can be found in other personal titles without the specific name of a memorial temple or the use of *hwt*.¹⁶¹ These titles are a little more uncertain as it is possible that the person served in the royal household, but it is more likely that the position was one within a royal memorial cult. If these titles are included then temples of thirteen royal figures can be identified; Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Smenkhare and Horemheb as well as Ahmose-Nefertari and Iset.

Excavations at Thebes have uncovered the remains of temples dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari (PM II: 422-423), Amenhotep II (PM II: 429-431), Thutmose II (PM II: 456), Hatshepsut (PM II: 340-377), Thutmose III (PM II: 426-429), Thutmose IV (PM II: 446-447), Amenhotep III (PM II: 449-454), Aye (PM II: 457) and Horemheb (PM II: 457) from which it can be concluded that the titles relating to these memorial cults referred to the Theban temples of these individuals. With regards the temples of Amenhotep I, Haring (1997: 419) notes that the temple of Meniset was probably built by him but that it was only related to him indirectly, and that by the Ramesside Period it was connected more strongly with Ahmose-Nefertari; while this does not preclude it being linked with Amenhotep I in the Eighteenth Dynasty it does suggest that cults relating to this temple may have been more closely linked with Ahmose-Nefertari. Of course the various shrines dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari in western Thebes make it likely that cultic titles connected with this king were based at Thebes despite the lack of definite evidence of a memorial temple there.¹⁶² Ahmose is known to have had a memorial temple at Abydos¹⁶³ but a similar construction at

¹⁶¹ The inclusion of the term *hwt* to refer to a royal memorial temple is discussed above (see ch. 4.4.2). See also Haring (1997: 22).

¹⁶² See Hollender (2009) and Moore (1994) for more on the memorial cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari at Thebes. See also PM (I.II: 689-690, 693-694) for possible sites of chapels dedicated to the couple.

¹⁶³ See Harvey (1998).

Thebes has not been located, although this does not rule out the possibility that one existed.¹⁶⁴ Similarly a temple of Thutmose I has not yet been identified at Thebes, although the lack of a suitable alternative elsewhere suggests strongly that this is due to a lack of surviving evidence rather than the non-existence of such a temple.¹⁶⁵ A chapel of Thutmose I existed in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri and so this may have become the primary focus of his memorial cult.¹⁶⁶ Although a memorial temple of Smenkhara has not been positively identified at Thebes, the phrasing of the graffito in TT139 specifically locates the cult to this area by stating that Pawah holds his position in the ‘temple of Smenkhara in Thebes’ (*‘m Hwt nḥ-hprw-R m W3st’*). It can be said, therefore, with certainty that this memorial cult was situated in the Theban area. The final cult, that of Iset, does not have a corresponding temple and it is likely that none existed. As a consort of Thutmose II and mother of Thutmose III she held a high position (Dodson and Hilton 2010: 131, 138), but temples dedicated to consorts, with the exception of Ahmose-Nefertari, are not found in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is, therefore, probable that her cult was situated in a shrine located within another temple, possibly that of Thutmose II or III.

¹⁶⁴ An inscription at the quarries of Tura in the Memphite area notes the *ḥwwt.f nt ḥḥw m [...]* (‘his houses of millions of [years]’) (Lepsius 1849-1858: 3a-b). This implies that more than one of this type of temple was built by each king, so that the existence of a memorial temple at Abydos does not preclude there having also been one at Thebes. Haeny (1998: 89-90) notes that the following line of the text includes references to a ‘temple of Ptah’ and a ‘temple of a god’ which implies that the *ḥwt n ḥḥw rnpwt* were not necessarily memorial temples but could be a term used to refer to temples more generally, implying not that they were of a memorial nature but simply that they were intended to last for eternity. Whether or not this interpretation is accepted, one is left with the possibility that there was a memorial temple, at least of sorts, of Ahmose at Thebes in addition to his estate at Abydos. This does, of course, also imply that other kings whose temples are known to have been at Thebes may also have had memorial cults in other regions; in this case one cannot automatically assume that memorial cults recorded in private titles at Thebes referred to the known Theban memorial estates, as other comparable temples may have existed elsewhere. The location of the titles in Theban tombs does, however, suggest that their owners resided in the Theban vicinity and so the titles probably related to a cult also located in the area.

¹⁶⁵ Winlock (1929: pl. xi) shows a door panel which may have come from this temple (see PM.II: 535). Quirke (1990: 174) has put forward the suggestion that Thutmose I’s cult may have originally been included in a ‘family’ temple at the site of the chapel of Wadjmose (see PM.II: 444-446 for details of this chapel including mentions of Thutmose I), before being subsumed into the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, although the evidence for this is far from conclusive.

¹⁶⁶ See Naville (1895: 9-11). See also PM.II: 361 for references.

It is likely, therefore, that most of the memorial cults in this study relate to temples or shrines at Thebes, although it is possible that not all followed this pattern.¹⁶⁷ The titles recorded in the Memphite region should also be noted here. One, T05M02, is in a graffito and so may have been left by a Theban on a visit to the north.¹⁶⁸ The second, T14M65, records Amenemonet as a ‘steward of the temple of Thutmose III’; this title is inscribed in his tomb close to Memphis¹⁶⁹ and so it is likely that he was resident in that region.¹⁷⁰ It is probable, therefore, that the cult of which Amenemonet was a member was located in the Memphite area. Although no temple of this king has been identified in the region, some of other Eighteenth Dynasty kings have been located,¹⁷¹ which suggests that such institutions were constructed in the Memphite area in this period. If this were the case, then one may suggest that royal memorial cults were enacted in multiple political or urban centres. This does not mean that a memorial estate of each king was found in all main centres on the scale found at Thebes, but it is possible that some form of memorial cult, possibly shared by more than one royal ancestor, existed in these places so as to encourage reverence of royal ancestors outside of the primary centre of royal memorial estates.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ It should also be noted that the title relating to Ahmose, whose temple has not been located at Thebes, is questioned by Haring, who suggests that the title refers instead to service of Ahmose in his lifetime (see T05T05). As discussed above, it has been shown that the title is likely to have related, instead, to his memorial cult. But the lack of a temple relating to Ahmose may lend some support to Haring’s theory.

¹⁶⁸ See ch. 2 for discussion of graffiti.

¹⁶⁹ The block containing the text of this title is believed to have belonged to the tomb of Amenemonet although it is no longer in situ (see Haring 1997: 432, PM III.2: 701).

¹⁷⁰ Haring (1997: 432) notes the titles of Amenemonet which link him with both Memphis and Heliopolis.

¹⁷¹ The evidence for this is somewhat scarce, but appears to suggest a chapel of Thutmose I (PM III.I: 41), a chapel of Amenhotep III (PM III.II: 840) and a temple of Thutmose IV (PM III.II: 842), although these temples may not have been dedicated to the king in the same way that those found at Thebes, which were closely connected with the burial sites of the pharaohs, were. Further evidence of a temple of Thutmose III has recently been found at Badrashin, 40km from Cairo, which again demonstrates the presence of such structures in the Memphite environs (see, for example, Loveluck (2014)).

¹⁷² These may be seen along the same lines as that recorded by Tjuneroy in the reign of Ramesses II (Martin 1991: 123); this individual was a chief *hry-hb* of royal ancestors and includes a description of a ceremony related to this role - the ‘[performance of the *Htp-di-nsw* for the ki]ngs of Upper and Lower Egypt and for Osiris, through the agency of King Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses Maiamun’ (D. Redford 1986: 21-22).

It should, however, be noted that Amenemonet held other titles, including *imy-r mšꜥ wr n nb-t3wy* ('Great General of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands') and *whm nsw tpy* ('first king's herald') (Martin 1987: pl. I[1b]); he was a man of high standing. It is possible, therefore, that his position in the cult of Thutmose III was honorary rather than demanding a regular, practical involvement in the running of the memorial temple. If this were the case then he may have lived at Memphis and held a position in a temple in another location.

4.3.1.2. THE TEMPLE LISTS OF PUYEMRA AND INENI

Two enlightening depictions relating to royal memorial temples are found in the tombs of Puyemra (TT39, Davies 1922: 95-96, pl. xl) and Ineni (TT81, Boussac 1896: pl. 3). TT39 dates to the reigns of Hatshepsut – Thutmose III while TT81 is placed between the reign of Amenhotep I and the early years of the joint regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Kampp 1996: 230, 323).¹⁷³ These scenes show incense being shared out for the temples of Thebes, and include a list of those to which donations were taken. The lists are incomplete; Ineni's is damaged and Puyemra's has suffered restorations in later periods, but it is possible to reconstruct both lists by comparing them to each other and to other lists of the same and later periods (Haring 1997: 136-137).¹⁷⁴ Both include several temples dedicated primarily to gods, but also some whose main function was that of royal memorial structure. Ineni's list contains three while Puyemra's is more extensive with the inclusion of fifteen temples in total, nine of which may be termed royal memorial temples. The memorial temples included are *Mn-*

¹⁷³ Haring (1997: 134) suggests that the death of Ineni should be dated to the reign of Hatshepsut, while that of Puyemra should be placed slightly later due to the fact that Puyemra's tomb escaped the erasures of aspects relating to Hatshepsut while Ineni's did not. This implies that Puyemra's was still under construction after her death.

¹⁷⁴ For example, the list of temples on Hatshepsut's chapel at Karnak (see Lacau and Chevrier (1977: 73-83), Haring (1997: 137)).

iswt,¹⁷⁵ *3h-swt*,¹⁷⁶ *Hr.i-hr-Imn*,¹⁷⁷ *Dsr-dsrw-Imn*,¹⁷⁸ *H^c-3ht-Imn*,¹⁷⁹ *Hnkt-^cnh*,¹⁸⁰ *Hnmt-^cnh*,¹⁸¹
*Hnmt-mn*¹⁸² and *Hwt-k3 n 3h-ms-nfrt-iry*.^{183,184} The first three occur in both lists while the
 latter six are only found in that of Puyemra.

4.3.1.3. TEMPLE NAMES IN PRIVATE TOMB DECORATION

Further to the lists of Puyemra and Ineni the names of specific royal memorial temples are also found in texts in other private tombs. One, in TT95, mentions gifts of Amun in *Tb-3ht* (an alternative name for *Šspt-^cnh*, the memorial temple of Amenhotep II),¹⁸⁵ probably at the

¹⁷⁵ This temple has been identified with Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, although some sources link it more definitely with Ahmose-Nefertari than with Amenhotep and so his association may have been secondary (see, for example, Gitton (1975: 18-19), Otto (1952: 14), Schmitz (1978: 111)); it should also be noted that there is no definitive evidence of this temple being dedicated to either individual in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Van Siclen 1980: 192), and so it is possible that the connection with Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari was a later development leaving the original designation of the temple questionable. See Van Siclen (1980) for further discussion and references, in particular see Van Siclen (1980: 190-191) for arguments that the temple was particularly related with Ahmose-Nefertari but was not her memorial temple. See also Helck (1961: 87-88) for titles relating to this cult.

¹⁷⁶ The memorial temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (see Davies (1922: 95-96), Hall (1907: 10-11), Otto (1952: 14), Stadelmann (1978: 172)). Helck (1961: 81) identifies the owner as Mentuhotep III.

¹⁷⁷ This temple has not been identified but its position in the list alongside the memorial temples of the West Bank at Thebes suggests that it may have fulfilled a similar purpose. Davies identified it with the early part of the temple at Deir el-Bahri (Davies 1922: 95). It is mentioned in a text alongside buildings of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, but no identification of the owner is given (see Lacau and Chevrier (1977: 78 [127])). Traunecker (1982: 311) notes a suggested relationship with the cult of Ahmose-Nefertari, but concludes that the owner, or location, cannot be definitely identified on the currently available evidence. See also Helck (1961: 76) for further references.

¹⁷⁸ The memorial temple of Hatshepsut (Otto 1952: 14). See also Helck (1961: 92-94) for further references and titles relating to this cult.

¹⁷⁹ Probably a temple of Hatshepsut (see Lacau and Chevrier (1977: 74-75 [119])).

¹⁸⁰ The memorial temple of Thutmose III (Otto 1952: 14). See also Helck (1961: 94-97) for further references and titles relating to this cult.

¹⁸¹ The memorial temple of Thutmose I (see Otto (1952: 14), Lacau and Chevrier (1977: 79 [no. 120])). See also Helck (1961: 88-91) for references and titles relating to this cult. The temple is published by Ricke (1939).

¹⁸² Possibly the memorial temple of Amenhotep I, although the identification is not certain; Helck (1961: 83) suggests that it may be a temple of Amenhotep I, based on its position in the temple list of Puyemra. But he acknowledges that this identification is merely a suggestion.

¹⁸³ As the name suggests, this was a memorial temple of Ahmose-Nefertari (Helck 1961: 88).

¹⁸⁴ See also Stadelmann (1978: 172-173) for further discussion, and references for the various temple names.

¹⁸⁵ See Haring (1997: 420) for references. Helck (1961: 83) notes that *Šspt-^cnh* is also the name of the temple of Thutmose II, but gives that temple the alternative name *Hnmt-mn* (although, as noted above, this name has also been linked with the temple of Amenhotep I).

Beautiful Festival of the Valley (PM I.I: 197, Schott 1953: 872).¹⁸⁶ A further phrase records Amun resting in *Hnmt-ꜥnh* (TT49, Davies 1933: pl. liii[c]), again probably part of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. A third text, in TT161, may relate to the temple of Ahmose-Nefertari at the same festival but it is not certain.¹⁸⁷ Others do not overtly relate to a specific festival but are linked with offerings, such as a depiction in TT77 wherein royal gifts are bought to *Hwt Mn-hprw-Rꜥ* (the temple of Thutmose IV) (PM I.I: 151, Urk. IV: 1599[13-17]). These examples provide supporting evidence both for the existence of the temples and their use in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and for their having been encountered by at least some members of society during festivals and rituals. They also show the movement of goods both as offerings to the temples and as produce from them.

4.3.2. ROYAL MEMORIAL ESTATES AND EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

The lists of Puyemra and Ineni, as well as the sporadic mentions of memorial temples in other tombs, serve as evidence for the existence of memorial temples dedicated to royal figures in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Of particular note is the temple of Nebhepetra-Mentuhotep as this estate is not mentioned in any of the personal titles in the corpus. This should be noted for two reasons. Firstly it evidences the existence of memorial cults dedicated to a Middle Kingdom king in the Eighteenth Dynasty, which may have acted as a link with the kings of the pre-New Kingdom era. Secondly it is as a reminder that the corpus of personal titles included in this study must not be seen as conclusive; they provide examples of the roles that were held and

¹⁸⁶ The Beautiful Festival of the Valley will be discussed in more detail below (see ch. 4.4.1); at this point the discussion will focus on the inclusion of the name of the royal memorial temple.

¹⁸⁷ It records ‘everything that comes forth from the altar of Amun and the God’s Wife Ahmose-Nefertari’ (see Werbrouck and Van der Walle (1929: pl. facing p. 9), Manniche (1986: 59)), but it is unclear which scene, if any, the text relates to. Ahmose-Nefertari is depicted on the opposite wall (Manniche 1986: 59), but the connection between this and the text is not overt. The text may refer to a temple, or shrine, of Ahmose-Nefertari but this cannot be ascertained for certain.

the estates that they were held in but should not be treated as all encompassing. The temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri was clearly active in the Eighteenth Dynasty and so would have required staff to work in it, even if a record of their names and titles has not been found in the evidence within this study (see map 1 for the location of this temple).

4.3.2.1. MEMORIAL TEMPLES AS ECONOMIC ESTATES

These memorial temples, and the divine estates with which they were associated, were a key economic force in Egypt. Haring (1997: 12-17) discusses the Egyptian economy in the New Kingdom, and emphasises the importance of temples as landholders. Papyrus Harris I, written later in the New Kingdom under Ramesses IV, records the numbers of personnel employed in various cults; over 80,000 individuals were employed in the estate of Amun although it should be noted that this was the largest cult in the country (Grandet 1994: 235-236).¹⁸⁸ The papyrus goes on to list personnel in other, smaller establishments; 3,000 at Memphis and 12,000 at Heliopolis (Grandet 1994: 89). Although from a slightly later period, these figures demonstrate the huge resources that were wielded by temple estates, and their key role in the national economy, through the ownership of land and by providing work for many people.

Further evidence for the economic value of temple estates is found in the festival lists recorded in the temples themselves and on stelae. A list of Thutmose III at Buto, for example, records the numbers of offerings required for the various daily and periodic feasts in the

¹⁸⁸ Grandet lists the number of individuals employed in the cult of Amun as 86,486. Haring (1997: 175) notes that the lists relate primarily to new endowments of Ramesses III and may not, therefore, have been 'incorporated administratively within the domains of existing temples'. He writes that 62,626 of the people listed were linked with Medinet Habu although they worked across Egypt (Haring 1997: 175). Grandet's translation of the papyrus agrees, listing the 62,626 people under the heading 'Le château de roi de Haute et Basse-Égypte Ousermaâtre-Méryamen v.s.f., dans le domaine d'Amon dans le(s) partie(s) sud et nord (du pays)' (Grandet 1994: 235).

temple complex; items include bread, beer, incense, honey, meat and fowl.¹⁸⁹ A later list, the calendar of Ramesses II at Abydos, further emphasises the huge resources needed to supply a temple festival calendar; it records a great number of bread and various meats, which include oxen and oryx, a bull, a crane, gazelles and geese (el-Sabban 2000: 42, 55). These lists demonstrate the important part that temples played in the country's economy. The regular festivals demanded a high number of consumable goods and required a large staff to supply and manage them. As noted above, private lists such as those of Puyemra and Ineni show the subsequent movement of goods between temples in the form of offerings.

4.3.2.2. MEMORIAL TEMPLES AND DIVINE ESTATES

A second important aspect of memorial temples, as alluded to above, is their connection with divine estates. The list of Puyemra includes memorial and divine estates; through this it links the so-called memorial temples with those dedicated to specific gods. This helps to solidify the connection between the pharaoh and the divine. The perceived link between the king and the gods was a key aspect of Egyptian ideology and played an important role in legitimising the ruler; he was presented as the latest in a line of legitimate kings who ultimately derived from the early god-kings of the land.

The memorial temples were not dedicated solely to the king, but were also dedicated to gods, and even included shrines to other royal ancestors.¹⁹⁰ Ullmann (2002: 663) notes that the chief god of the area in which the temple was located was acknowledged above all else in memorial temples, with the named king as a second beneficiary of the cult. Titles such as that of

¹⁸⁹ See Bedier (1994) for translation. See also Spalinger (1996a) who notes, for example, the two-hundred loaves of bread offered at festivals which were taken from the three-hundred loaves offered daily (Davies and Davies 1923: 173). Further festival lists are recorded in el-Sabban (2000).

¹⁹⁰ As noted above, T07T41 records a *wꜥb* of Iset, the mother of Thutmose III.

Ahmose (T05T03) – ‘*hm-ntr tpy* of Amun in Henkhet-Ankh’ – further demonstrate this point, as they relate to the cult of a god within the memorial temple.¹⁹¹ Again, the link between the king and his ancestors, human and divine, was emphasised.

4.4. ROYAL MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

Royal memorial festivals were a key component of temple estate life. While many of the rituals would have been carried out away from public eyes,¹⁹² festivals were public events in which the cult statue was taken out of its sanctuary (albeit usually in a covered shrine) and carried in procession. There is discussion regarding how accessible festivals and processions were to those outside of the temple estates, but records suggest that they were public events. Texts from Deir el-Medina, for example, record workmen taking days off for festivals, and a calendar of memorial festivals of Amenhotep I has been recreated by McDowell,¹⁹³ which shows the part that such festivals played in community life. Accetta (2013: 19) writes, with regards to the Opet Festival, that public access was not the main purpose of the festival but that it still occurred, noting further that ‘by including the public as a witness to his renewal, the king strengthened his political and religious status in the eyes of his subjects’; here, the role of this public access in the legitimization of the king is emphasised.

¹⁹¹ This is further demonstrated by the titles of Ra, the owner of tomb TT72; he is recorded as *hm-ntr* of Amun, Hathor and Thutmose III in Henkhet-Ankh, thus demonstrating the active cults to the king and both gods at the temple. See Bell (1998) for discussion of the divinity of the king, as reinforced through the *sd*- and Opet-festivals.

¹⁹² An example of this is the daily ritual of Amenhotep I (see Bacchi (1942), Cooney and McClain (2006)).

¹⁹³ She records seven separate festivals for this king, with a possible further two also noted (McDowell 1992: 101-102).

The role of oracles should also be noted here. While usually divine in nature, oracles representing deceased royal individuals are not unknown in the New Kingdom.¹⁹⁴ The best attested of these is Amenhotep I who appeared in oracle form at Thebes, and is depicted in private tombs on the west bank there.¹⁹⁵ Oracles' statues were carried on the shoulders of priests; these statues were then presented with questions from members of the community that they answered by tilting their head or moving (McDowell 1990: 108-110). Through this they resolved disputes within the community and gave judgements on cases. Oracular statues, therefore, were not only a part of festivals, they played an active role in the life of the community and affected the lives of those who put questions before them.

Most of the evidence for the oracle of Amenhotep I at Thebes dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁹⁶ For this reason, discussion of royal oracles has not been expanded upon. While it is possible that some of the depictions of Amenhotep I discussed in the previous chapter may have been inspired by oracular statues, this is not clearly represented in the images and so, while oracles of deceased kings may have played a part in community life in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the focus in this study is on other activity.¹⁹⁷

4.4.1. THE EVIDENCE

Further to mentions of specific memorial temples, private tomb decoration at Thebes does provide some more evidence of cults relating to royal ancestors. This evidence is found in a

¹⁹⁴ Baines (1987: 88-90) suggests that the use of oracles was older, although the evidence is scarce.

¹⁹⁵ Statues of Amenhotep I being carried by priests are found in Nineteenth Dynasty tombs, such as in TT2 (Černý 1927: fig. 14), and were probably representations of an oracle statue. A further oracle of Ahmose is also attested at Abydos in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Legrain 1916).

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, the tomb depiction in TT2, noted in the previous footnote.

¹⁹⁷ See above, chs. 3.2.4 and 3.6.1.1, for discussion of whether depictions of kings were inspired by festival statues.

variety of depictions and texts which include the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.¹⁹⁸ This festival, founded in the Middle Kingdom and developed throughout the New Kingdom, included a procession of the god Amun-Ra across the river from the east to the west bank at Thebes. While on the west bank the procession visited royal memorial temples, ending at Deir el-Bahri.¹⁹⁹

When discussing evidence for this festival it is easy to become caught in the huge amounts of potential evidence; while the evidence relating to this festival is important, it is not necessary for the purposes of this study to create a catalogue of all evidence relating to it. Instead, specific examples will be included that allow for discussion of the topic.²⁰⁰

4.4.1.1. TOMB DEPICTIONS

A small number of tomb depictions explicitly show the Beautiful Festival of the Valley: in TT49 the deceased goes to the festival (Davies 1933: pl. liii[c]); in TT69 the deceased and his wife go to the festival (Campbell 1910: 93-94); in TT79 the deceased is at the festival with others (Hickmann 1956: pl. xliii); in TT98 the daughters of the deceased offer a bouquet of Amun to him and his wife as part of the festival (Fakhry 1934: pl. ii); and in TT224 the

¹⁹⁸ Other festivals are also noted in private tomb decoration both at Thebes and elsewhere, for example in the festival list of Pahery at el-Kab; this list notes a range of festivals including ‘*wp rnpt(?)*, *psdntyw*, *3bd*, *snt*, *smdt*, *prrt 3t*, *prrt špdt*, [*hb*] *ms(y)t tp(y)t*, *mswt wsir*, *prrt mn*, *prrt sm*, *ht h3wy*, *sšpt itrw*’ and ‘*hbw nw pt r swww.sn m hrt hrw nt r nb*’ (see Spalinger (1996b: 59) for discussion of this and the feasts included in the list). This is by no means the only private festival list but is one of the more detailed examples (Spalinger 1996b: 58-72). While these lists include several festivals there is no festival or group of festivals included which can be seen as clearly relating to the cults of royal ancestors. For this reason the lists found in private tombs have not been included in this study; instead, the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, which can be found both in texts and depictions in private tombs in the Eighteenth Dynasty, will be discussed as an example of the possible connection between state festivals and the remembrance of royal ancestors.

¹⁹⁹ See, for example, Teeter (2011: 66-73), who discusses the role of royal memorial temples in the festival, and the use of statues of royal ancestors after the Nineteenth Dynasty.

²⁰⁰ Schott’s seminal work on the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (1953) discusses all of the aspects of the festival from offerings to processions to the variety of people who took part such as singers and butchers; this book demonstrates the huge amount of texts and images which display parts of the festival. It should also be noted that a detailed list of evidence is included in Schott (1953: 94-133) and so readers may refer to this if desired.

deceased censes at the festival (PM I.I: 325). It should be noted that none of the depictions mentioned include an image of any royal ancestor, but instead focus on the private aspects of the festival.

4.4.1.2. TOMB TEXTS

Texts mentioning the festival can also be found, for example in TT24 (GIA photo 1730), TT49 (Davies 1933: pl. xxxvi) and TT69 (Campbell 1910: 85-86). These texts do not add anything except to demonstrate that the festival was important in the lives of tomb owners and that it was deemed important enough to record even when a depiction was not possible or desired. One point to note, however, is that the text in TT49 includes a mention of *Hnkt-ꜥnh*, the memorial temple of Thutmose III, which suggests a link between the activities of the festival and this memorial estate. Apart from this the focus is, again, on the private rather than the royal aspects of the festival.

4.4.2. ROYAL MEMORIAL FESTIVALS AND EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

Royal memorial festivals allowed royal ancestors to remain relevant in Egyptian society even for those who did not hold positions within royal memorial cults. While the records of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley in private tombs do not focus on the royal aspects of the event, a large part of the festival was based around the commemoration of royal ancestors.²⁰¹ The recording of the festival in private tombs suggests that it was an important part of the year and, therefore, that the remembrance of royal ancestors was also a feature of local life.

²⁰¹ See, for example, Schott (1953) for more details about the activity of the festival.

The focus on the private aspect of the festival also highlights another aspect; the mirroring of public and private. Some of the depictions noted above show the family of the deceased bringing offerings to him as part of the festival.²⁰² This commemoration of private ancestors, therefore, mirrored the commemoration of royal ancestors that took place at other points in the festival. Perhaps such a combination of state and private encouraged Egyptian people to connect the commemoration of royal ancestors with the commemoration of private ones, thus allowing them to relate to deceased kings and queens on a level with which they were familiar. As has been noted in the previous chapter, D. Redford (1986: 53) has suggested that the depictions of royal ancestors in private tombs were, in fact, depictions of cult statues which were kept in the locality and used at festivals. This emphasises the important point that the primary access to state iconography and royal ancestors in the localities was through royal memorial cults and the festivals and statuary related to them.

Private individuals interacted with royal ancestors both through personal involvement in royal memorial cults and through public festivals; it is the active remembrance encapsulated in ritual and cultic activity that gave communities access to cultural memory stores such as royal statues and memorial temples. By incorporating aspects of these performances into their own lives they created a link between themselves, and their communities, and the ideology of the state. As such the role of active remembering cannot be understated.

4.5. CONCLUSION

As can be seen the evidence discussed in this chapter provides a wide range of information; conclusions can be drawn about the existence and function of royal memorial temples, about

²⁰² For example Fakhry (1934: pl. ii).

the activities of individuals who held specific roles, and even about the economic basis of such institutions.

4.5.1. MEMORIAL ESTATES AND TITLES

Memorial estates played an important role in the life and economy of Egypt.²⁰³ The range of titles relating to these estates demonstrates the variety of ways in which local people were involved in activity relating to deceased kings. At least some of the holders of ritual titles in memorial estates can be equated with the ‘specialists’ of Assmann’s cultural memory;²⁰⁴ these individuals had specific knowledge that allowed them to carry out duties relating to the remembering of royal ancestors. Even those whose titles were not specifically ritual in nature, may be understood as holding some part of the specialist knowledge of the estate. They were familiar with certain parts of the memorial temple, its workings and its function, in a way that those outside of the walls were not. The walls of the temple served to restrict that knowledge, to limit it to those who had been granted access. Here, activity relating to the memorial cult was distinct from everyday life; those who were involved carried out rituals within a sacred environment, forging a connection with royal ancestors through their actions. For those who were not given access to the estate, the temple itself served as a memorial to the king and a symbol of the rituals that took place within, rituals that remained hidden.

²⁰³ As discussed in this chapter, the memorial estates were primarily located on the west bank at Thebes and in the Memphite area and so these were the key areas for activity relating to cults of deceased kings. The lack of evidence from Amarna is because there were no active memorial temples there and, additionally, there is very little private evidence to search for clues.

²⁰⁴ For example, the *hry-hb* was required to recite ritual texts during rituals (see ch. 4.2.2.3). Similar roles are found in other cultures, for example the priests who served in imperial cults dedicated to past emperors (Weddle 2014: 3716).

As noted, some roles were directly related to the cult of the king while others focused on different aspects of the temple institution. In both cases, however, a connection with the king was developed; the royal estate was responsible for the work and wages and, as such, was an important force in the life of the individual.²⁰⁵ Haring (1997: 204) writes that ‘the king was the builder of the temple, and it was he who endowed it with personnel, land, cattle and material wealth’; as such, the king was a key provider for the community. That memorial estates could be active during the lifetime of the king they commemorated meant that they provided a link to both royal ancestors and to the current ruler.²⁰⁶ As such, they also re-enforced the connection between the king and his predecessors.

Some titles denoted active roles within the temple estate itself while others recorded a more honorific role. As already noted, many of the roles required specialised knowledge, such as ritual titles which included assisting with temple rituals. While honorific roles may have involved some trips to the temple itself, they did not require regular involvement in the day-to-day activities there. The fact, however, that these titles were included on funerary cones, in tomb decoration and in graffiti, shows that they were more than prosaic titles but were considered to be a part of the personal identity of the holder, and were worthy of recording for eternity. They marked the holder as part of the temple community which was, itself, centred around cultural memory relating to a royal ancestor. As such these titles not only commemorated a specific memorial cult, but became part of memory themselves.

Furthermore, such estates may evidence the canonisation of short-term memories into longer forms. As each estate was founded, the temple was built and statues carved which, among

²⁰⁵ The same can be said for memorial cults in other cultures, for example Roman imperial cults; in these individuals acted as priests, provided for rituals and serviced the building.

²⁰⁶ Although Roman imperial cults were not officially founded until after the death of the ruler, many functioned, at least unofficially, during his lifetime and may, thus, have had a similar effect (see above, ch. 4.1.6).

other things, would become material stores of memory. This is, perhaps, an example of the canonisation discussed by Aleida Assmann (2010) which forms the basis of cultural memory. Objects were specifically chosen, or created, to act as markers of memory; this memory was then accessed and communicated through performances, such as the rituals and processions of the memorial cults. Through the foundation of his memorial estate, the living king became part of the long-term memory of the community, the next in a line of rulers which traced back to the gods. One might even argue that, while the primary focus on memorial temples was to provide the pharaoh with a cult that would serve him both in this life and the next, a secondary intention in building them was to create a monument to the memory of the pharaoh. Through such establishments, it was possible to create memory (similar to Hobsbawm and Ranger's 'invented tradition'²⁰⁷) relating to the living pharaoh which both connected him with his ancestors and would survive for eternity.

4.5.2. ROYAL MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

Festivals and public events made royal memorials accessible to a wider section of society. They ensured that royal ancestors remained visible in the community. At these events it was not only those who held positions within the estates who could find a connection with the royal ancestor, but all members of the community. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, performance theory places those who witness action in a key role; the performance is enacted for their benefit. Festivals, therefore, may be seen in this light. They took place within society for the benefit of the community, ensuring that the person of the king was an active

²⁰⁷ See above, ch. 4.1.2., for more on invented tradition.

part of life for those who attended. Statues of the king were reminders of memory which was then passed on through the performance.²⁰⁸

Furthermore, those who observed festivals did not play a passive role in the event, but were active participants; the festival played a role in their lives and they, in turn, animated it.

Festivals such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley went a step further, creating a link between personal and royal cult, by connecting royal commemoration with the remembrance of family ancestors;²⁰⁹ those who had observed the royal festivals enacted their own version of the rituals for their ancestors. While their experience may have differed to those who played an active role in the public part of the festival, it does not mean that their connection with the event was diminished.

4.5.3. ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS AND ACTIVE REMEMBERING

One cannot claim to know how each individual interpreted the festivals and rituals and, as already discussed, personal understanding may have varied.²¹⁰ But the fact that titles relating to memorial temples were recorded in private tombs shows that they were important to individuals. They were part of individual identity, and in many cases were included as one of a very small number of titles on funerary cones; these cones were placed on the outer surface of the tomb so that they were visible to passers-by and, as such, displayed the titles that the owner held most dear. The importance of royal memorial cults in Egyptian society must not, therefore, be underestimated, despite the difficulties of fully understanding individual reactions to them.

²⁰⁸ See Assmann (2010: 117) and above, ch. 4.1.1.

²⁰⁹ Comparisons may, perhaps, be drawn with the Roman festival Parentalia, which consisted primarily of private observances to ancestors but which was opened, on 13th February, with state rituals (see Beard et al. (1998: 50)).

²¹⁰ See above, ch. 4.1.5.

By encouraging active involvement in the commemoration of royal ancestors, royal memorial estates helped to retain the memory of past kings, and ensured their place in society; through performance the memory imbued in objects such as statues was passed on (Assmann 2010). Halbwachs (1992: 73) writes that ‘the only ancestors transmitted and retained are those whose memory has become the object of a cult by men who remain at least fictitiously in contact with them.’ This emphasises the importance of focusing on the commemoration of specific individuals so as to retain their memory in society. Gillam (2005: 2) puts an even greater emphasis on the role of performance, suggesting that it does not only show the past, but ‘make[s] it happen again’. Through action, therefore, the past becomes a part of the present and, consequently, becomes interwoven into the developing memory of the community.

Here the role of action and ritual as a form of social control may be applied. As discussed above, Bell (2009: 169, 171-173) posits the theory that ritual promotes consensus and social solidarity through the repetition of action;²¹¹ this, in turn, strengthens the bond between individuals and their society (Durkheim 1915: 226). Royal memorial cults, therefore, demonstrate this; rituals and festivals encouraged the development of a group identity in which royal ancestors were central, and via repetition (daily, annually), they consolidated this consensual identity. Through this, however, a second result was achieved; the legitimacy of the living king as the descendant of a line of ancestors was confirmed and supported.

²¹¹ See ch. 4.1.4.

CHAPTER 5. FORGETTING

5.1 MEMORY AND FORGETTING

The story of Simonides, as recalled in the introduction to this study, is about remembering.

Weinrich's book, *Lethe: the Art and Critique of Forgetting*, provides an interesting follow up to the story of the poet's feat of memory (Weinrich 2004: 11).¹ In this, Simonides visits the orator Themistocles to teach him the art of memory; Themistocles, however, claims that he is not interested in learning how to remember everything, but in learning how to forget what he does not wish to remember. He chooses to learn, not *ars memoriae* but *ars oblivionis*. Through learning to forget, thus reducing his memories, he hopes to create a usable bank of knowledge. Here, the close relationship of remembering and forgetting is placed centre-stage; the two provide complementary routes to the same result.

This study has looked at three modes of remembering; text, image and action. Through this it has presented an examination of how societies remembered, and the role this played in the development of community and identity. Furthermore discussion has looked at how these forms of remembering may be used to underscore the legitimacy of the state. It is now, therefore, pertinent to look at the other aspect of this phenomenon, as put forward by Weinrich, forgetting.

¹ As Yates did for the art of memory, Weinrich (2004) provides a history of the art of forgetting.

Forgetting can be viewed as the negative counterpart of memory, its complete opposite (Haas and Levasseur 2013: 60).² This is poetically summed up by the psychologist Brockmeier, who notes the view that

The radiant hero in the limelight is Remembering, attracting all attention, support and sympathy. The shady villain is Forgetting, the trouble maker who is lurking behind the scenes, always ready to counter-act remembering and thwart its achievement ...

Remembering is forced to use all kinds of tricks to resist the villain's assaults and to guard the treasure – the accumulated wealth of past experience and knowledge (Brockmeier 2002: 15).

Here, forgetting is the antithesis of remembering; if one does not remember, one forgets.

Gross (2000) notes that, in pre-modern societies, remembering was not only a cognitive and intellectual necessity, but was vital to cultural and even moral ideals; the emphasis was not only on the act of remembering but on the type of knowledge that was retained and the ways in which this affected one's character.³ Consequently, forgetting was an affront to accepted ideals and, as such, a deeply negative act.

Yet the distinction is not as clear as it may at first appear. The relationship between remembering and forgetting should be seen less as one between the positive and the negative,

² Haas and Levasseur (2013: 60) refer the reader to Rousso (1999: 109), who writes that 'Le sens commun oppose aujourd'hui la mémoire à l'oubli. Il accorde une valeur positive à la mémoire et une valeur explicitement ou implicitement négative à l'oubli' ('common sense now contrasts memory to oblivion. It gives a positive value to memory and a value that is explicitly or implicitly negative to forgetting'), although he writes that this dichotomy should be revisited.

³ He writes (2000: 28), for example, that 'character was founded on habit, habit was in turn founded on memory' and, furthermore, that 'character is a value' and so 'memory and habit are values as well, for without their informing presence character itself was considered impossible to retain'. Here, individual memory and habit are bound up together, with both causing the development of character. He later notes (2000: 25) that 'the true rememberers not only remembered better than others the events and experiences of their own lives, but repeatedly called to mind the highest values and goals of the culture'.

and more as one of two connected processes, with one supporting the other.⁴ Aleida Assmann (2010: 97), for example, begins her discussion in *'Canon and Archive'* with the simple statement that 'when thinking about memory we must start with forgetting'. This places forgetting centre stage, acknowledging its key role in the process of remembering rather than reducing it to the opposite, the 'unremembered'.⁵ Fortunati and Lamberti (2010: 127) support Aleida Assmann's thesis, noting that in order to understand 'the process of identity formations of a collectivity' one must analyse 'what disappears, what remains and what re-emerges'.⁶

Memory and forgetting, therefore, should not be seen as a dichotomy, but as two interacting phenomena; they are, in a sense, opposites but also rely on each other. And while this study of memory has not, as Aleida Assmann suggested, begun with an examination of forgetting, it does recognise the key role that forgetting plays in any form of remembrance and so will now focus on this aspect. It will look in more detail at forgetting and how it interacts with memory, taking examples from earlier chapters as well as some new material from similar contexts to illustrate the complex nature of forgetting.

⁴ Brockmeier, himself, later notes that 'the more we have moved into cultural and historical contexts, the more the plot about the hero Remembering and the villain Forgetting runs into difficulty' (Brockmeier 2002: 20), while Connerton (2008: 59) writes that 'forgetting is not always a failure', which contradicts the implication that forgetting is the negative counterpart of remembering. Furthermore, Nora (1984: viii) writes that 'la mémoire ... ne s'oppose pas à l'oubli', which suggests that the two concepts are not automatically set in opposition to each other.

⁵ A. Assmann (2010: 97) goes on to write that the 'dynamics of individual memory consist in a perpetual interaction between remembering and forgetting', so that in order to remember certain things one must automatically forget others.

⁶ Based on the work of Francesco Remotti (1993: 76). Additionally, Burke (1997: 51) questions why myths, which may be understood as a form of collective memory, become attached to some individuals but not to others, emphasising the complex relationship between forgetting and remembering (see also Burke 2011: 190).

5.2. THE CONCEPT OF COLLECTIVE FORGETTING

As discussed in the 'previous three chapters, forgetting can be found in written, pictorial and ritual contexts; Schwartz (2009: 123) writes that collective forgetting is 'what is unregistered in the imagination of individuals, unchronicled in research monographs and textbooks, and/or uncommemorated by monuments, relics, statues, and ritual observances'. Forgetting, as discussed here, refers not only to what is forgotten by individuals, but also to what was never known by them.

One of the key problems with examining forgetting is that it is, by definition, the absence of remembering; while one can 'remember and remember to remember ... a technique to forget becomes instantly paradoxical' (Esposito 2010: 181).⁷ 'Forgetting' may not mean the loss of knowledge by an individual, but knowledge that has never been held by them, having already been 'lost' by society. This presents a challenge when analysing forgetting, as it has not necessarily been an intentional process, or even a conscious one, at least on the part of the person who has forgotten.

Additionally, 'collective' forgetting implies social structures, but does not mean that the effects are the same throughout the community; it simply denotes a distribution of forgetting, albeit unevenly, within and between groups (Schwartz 2009: 123). Here also, individual understanding is important; as with remembering, one cannot assume that every member of a community interprets forgetting in the same way. One must, therefore, examine the different

⁷ An interesting contrast to this is Levene (2012), which discusses instances in Roman history where the process of forgetting is explicitly recorded by historians.

structures of forgetting, the ways in which it can be imposed or in which it can occur naturally.

5.2.1. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE FORGETTING

One distinction which has been drawn, following a format found in studies of memory, is between active and passive forgetting. Aleida Assmann (2010: 97-98) distinguishes between these two types: she describes active forgetting as being ‘implied in intentional acts such as trashing and destroying’ and notes that such actions are a ‘necessary and constructive part of internal social transformation’ whilst acknowledging that they can also be ‘violently destructive’. Passive forgetting, in contrast, she links with ‘non-intentional acts such as losing, hiding, dispersing, neglecting’, noting that these objects are ‘not materially destroyed’ but ‘fall out of the frames of attention’. Assmann (1995: 366) uses the terms ‘structural amnesia’⁸ and ‘cultural repression’ to describe the key forms of forgetting, differentiating again between the forgetting of ‘elements of the past that are no longer in meaningful relation to the present’ and the ‘wilful destruction’ of memory. A distinction is, therefore, drawn between intentional (active) and unintentional (passive) forgetting, although, as Ricœur (2004: 443-444) notes, active and passive forgetting should not always be understood as being two distinct phenomena but may exist as two extremes of a scale.⁹ This non-binary understanding of

⁸ This term was originally coined by J. Barnes (see Assmann (1995: 366), Connerton (2008: 64), Barnes (1947)).

⁹ He points particularly to the examples of obsession and forgiveness. He includes at the passive end of the scale ‘forgetting by avoidance’ which can be caused by ‘an obscure will not to inform oneself’, although he notes that at the other end of the scale this can become a form of active forgetting, characterised as ‘wanting not to know’ (Ricœur 2004: 448-449). Further to this, he adds ‘forgiveness’ as a form of active forgetting, although he notes that some forms of forgiveness can be seen as the antithesis of forgetting and so this, again, is not a case of simple definition (Ricœur 2004: 285).

forgetting is support by Boozer (2011: 122-123), who suggests three forms of forgetting; passive and violent (active), but also strategic, which she places between the two former.¹⁰

Further research into various forms of forgetting have also emphasised these two main types. An example can be found, for example, in de Holan and Phillips' discussion of 'organizational forgetting' (de Holan and Phillips 2004). Here the focus is on memory not as a social construction but as an organizational one but yet, again, two distinct types of forgetting emerge; active¹¹ and passive.¹² Yerushalmi (1988: 12) succinctly sums up the complexities of the various forms of forgetting, writing that it is:

quand groups humains échouent – volontairement ou passivement, par rejet, indifférence ou indolence, ou bien encore du fait de quelque catastrophe historique brisant le cours des jours et des choses – à transmettre à la postérité ce qu'ils ont appris du passé.¹³

These studies emphasise again the complex nature of forgetting; it cannot be defined in any finite way, and even a seemingly simple distinction between active and passive forgetting is fraught with difficulty. It is also important to note that what may be an intentional act of forgetting for one individual or group, can lead to unintentional forgetting for another. This

¹⁰ She suggests that the third form of forgetting lies 'between the passive loss of history and the violent erasure of the past'; she sees it as a 'strategic and positive force' whose purpose is to allow the formation of new identities.

¹¹ Described by de Holan and Phillips as the disappearance of 'newly created knowledge ... before it has been successfully transferred to long term memory' and the process by which memory 'decays over time ... if not properly maintained' (de Holan and Phillips 2004: 1603).

¹² De Holan and Phillips (2004: 1603) write that forgetting is, at times, an 'organizational necessity', for example 'when an existing dominant logic has to be replaced by another one'.

¹³ 'When human groups fail – deliberately or passively, by rejection, indifference or indolence, or even because of some historical catastrophe breaking the daily course of things – to pass on what they have learned from the past' (see also de Haas and Levasseur (2013: 61)).

relates particularly to memories that were deliberately erased by the state but that, from the point of view of individuals, simply fell out of memory.¹⁴

Both active and passive forgetting provide insight into the concept of collective forgetting. The evidence discussed under ‘active forgetting’ denotes acts that were deliberately intended to alter or remove the memory of an individual. Active forgetting is, therefore, explicitly recorded in the evidence and can be addressed as such. Passive forgetting is more complex. The evidence presented in this section is not explicitly indicative of an act of forgetting, but instead represents a lack of memory; in this sense it is connected less with forgetting and more with a failure to remember. But this, too, is an important cultural phenomenon; one must look at why certain things were not remembered and the effects that this may have had, as well as the close connection between passive forgetting and remembering. Furthermore, passive forgetting in one social group may be connected with active forgetting in another and so it is important to address both forms of forgetting to understand how they may have interacted.¹⁵

5.2.2. CONNERTON’S ‘SEVEN TYPES OF FORGETTING’.

Connerton (2008) prescribes seven different forms of forgetting through which its complex nature can be more clearly understood. It is important, as Burke (1997: 57) notes, to understand ‘who wants whom to forget and why,’ and Connerton’s categories allow some focus on this question. Connerton (2008: 70) himself notes that these forms are in no way conclusive and invites scholars to add their own suggestions to the list, but it does provide a

¹⁴ If this occurred in ancient Egypt, for example in the case of the memory of Hatshepsut or Akhenaten, is discussed in more detail below (see, for example, ch. 5.4.1.2).

¹⁵ See, for example, ch. 5.4.1.2 on the memory of Hatshepsut.

good point at which to begin discussion of the differing forms of forgetting. Four of these, which are pertinent to this study, are discussed below.¹⁶

The first is ‘repressive erasure’ (Connerton 2008: 60-61). It can be used both to ‘deny the fact of a historical rupture as well as to bring about a historical break’ and denotes a deliberate elimination of certain memories ‘precipitated by an act of state’ (2008: 60-61). An example of this is the *damnatio memoriae* often referred to in studies of Roman society.¹⁷ It suggests a deliberate attempt, on the part of the authorities, to control what memories are retained and which are abandoned in order to serve a larger purpose for society (or for its leaders).

¹⁶ Three further forms of forgetting are not relevant to this study.

One example is ‘forgetting as annulment’ (Connerton 2008: 64-66). It is linked with the existence of too much information in which the surfeit results in a need to reject a proportion of it so as to be able to properly access and use what is retained. Nietzsche (1909: 30) writes that ‘an excess of history seems to be an enemy to the life of a time, and dangerous’, and argues (1909: 95) that ‘the antidotes to history are the “unhistorical” and the “super-historical”’, clarifying that ‘by the word “unhistorical” I mean the power, the art of *forgetting*, and of drawing a limited horizon round one’s self. I call the power “super-historical” which turns the eyes from the process of becoming to that which gives existence an eternal and stable character, to art and religion’. This process allows the individual, or society, to continue to function in a way that would not be possible had the process of forgetting not been undertaken. It is explained, on a small scale, by the classicist Weinrich (2004), who discusses what he terms ‘scientific oblivionism’; this, he explains, is the necessary forgetting by researchers of much of the information available to them in order ‘not to be crippled by chronic overinformation’ (Weinrich 2004: 214). It is a necessary part of the process of research.

The second is ‘forgetting as planned obsolescence’ (Connerton 2008: 66-67). It relates to market forces; the ever increasing speed of innovation and change has resulted in objects becoming obsolete more quickly, and an important aspect of this obsolescence is forgetting. As such, it is relevant only to capitalist societies and, therefore, has no relation to this study.

The final of Connerton’s categories is ‘forgetting as humiliated silence’ (Connerton 2008: 67-69). Here, memories which the incumbent wishes to forget, perhaps due to shame or humiliation, may consequently actually be forgotten. An example of this is the lack of discussion of events such as the destruction of German cities in the Second World War, which Connerton (2008: 68) argues is a ‘silence of humiliation and shame’. Gross (2011: 420) writes that ‘forgetting can free one from traditions of acrimony and prejudice which once burdened or impaired previous generations that remembered all too well’. Here, the emphasis is on the erasing of guilt and the associated reaction which, again, is not highly relevant to this study.

¹⁷ Flower (2006: xix) notes that the term ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ was not, in fact, used in the ancient world but is a modern construction as an umbrella term which covers a wider phenomenon (see also Varner (2004: 2)). As such, the usefulness of the term is uncertain. She also suggests (2006: xix) that the term may be used to imply a more formal and state-led process than was actually the case. Assmann (1995: 366) ascribes the term more specifically, in literate societies, to the destruction of inscriptions as part of a wider campaign of the ‘destruction of commemorative symbols’; he links the practice to the form of forgetting known as ‘structural amnesia’ (see below, Connerton’s fourth form of forgetting), writing that while repressive erasure is found primarily in literate societies, structural amnesia is its counterpart in oral ones. He goes on to write that there is no valid term for the destruction of commemorative symbols in literate societies (which includes *damnatio memoriae*), thus contradicting Connerton’s use of the term ‘repressive erasure’ to incorporate such phenomena.

A second form of forgetting, put forward by Connerton (2008: 61-62), is ‘prescriptive forgetting’. As with repressive erasure, it is undertaken by the leaders of society, but is acknowledged publicly and is undertaken to benefit all parties. An example of this is the re-entry of democrats into Athens in 403BC after which the memory of the crimes of the earlier dictatorship was repressed by a decree forbidding the remembering of the events (Connerton 2008: 62).¹⁸

Thirdly, forgetting can also be ‘constitutive in the formation of a new identity’ (Connerton 2008: 62-64), playing an important role in allowing for identities to evolve; forgetting is a part of the process through which ‘newly shared memories are constructed because a new set of memories are ... accompanied by ... shared silences’ (Connerton 2008: 63). An example of this is the forgetting of ancestors whose memories are no longer passed on to new generations.¹⁹ In a sense this can be linked to the first form of forgetting discussed, repressive erasure; although using forgetting to form a new identity is not necessarily enforced by the authorities, it does create a break from the past (which may be found in the first form) that allows society to move forward and create a new, separate, identity.

Connerton’s fourth form is ‘structural amnesia’ (Connerton 2008: 64). This term was originally coined by Barnes (1947) and applies to the tendency to remember only that which is socially important to one’s own position. This focuses on the importance of genealogy and

¹⁸ In 403BCE, writes Loraux (2002: 15-16), the Athenians swore ‘not to recall the misfortunes of the past’ and, in doing so, invented the concept of ‘amnesty’. In doing so they publically declared the forgetting of the period directly preceding 403 BCE and created a memory of that forgetting. In addition to this decree the Athenians erected an altar to Lethe in the Acropolis to represent forgetting (Connerton 2008: 62); Loraux (2002: 43) notes a reference by Plutarch in which the altar to Lethe in the Acropolis facilitates a reconciliation between Athena and Poseidon, thus implying that such reconciliations are made possible by the act of forgetting.

¹⁹ Boozer (2011) suggests, for example, that forgetting can play an important role in assisting groups to incorporate themselves into a new geographical region, taking the example of the immigration to the Dakleh Oasis in Egypt in the Roman Period. These immigrants allowed memories of their origins to fade, thus making way for the construction of new identities based around their new situation.

descent but can be used as an approach to amnesia in other areas.²⁰ Assmann (1995: 366) suggests that this form is typically found in oral societies to forget parts of the past that are no longer relevant in the present. Assmann (1995: 366) further writes that while repressive erasure may be seen as a form of repression, structural amnesia amounts simply to forgetting. In other words, one is an active form of forgetting while the other is more passive. The nature of oral societies means that active forgetting is not needed in the same way as in literate ones; there simply is not the same amount of material to be erased. Instead a ‘falling-out of memory’ may be sufficient. In the context of this study, many facets of Egyptian society were illiterate and so, if Assmann’s (1995: 366) premise that this form of forgetting was predominant in oral societies is accepted, then it should take centre stage. Whether the evidence supports a dominance of one form of forgetting will now be looked at.

5.3. FORGETTING IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Analysing the place of forgetting in ancient Egypt is difficult. The nature of the topic means that any successful act of forgetting should not be accessible to modern scholars; the memory of it should have been lost. However, the forgetting of something – an object, an event, an ancestor – does not necessarily mean that the process is irreversible (A. Assmann 2010: 106). A forgotten object can be re-found, a forgotten person or event re-remembered. Ricœur (2004: 427) discusses the persistence of traces of memory on an individual level, remarking that even after an event or idea has apparently been forgotten, it has ‘struck us, touched us, affected us, and the affective mark remains in our mind’. Ricœur’s comments look at the construction of memories on a personal level, but his conclusion is relevant to the wider social context as

²⁰ Zerubavel (1995: 8) discusses a similar phenomenon which he titles ‘commemorative density’. He views this as the function of Lévi-Strauss’ ‘pressure of history’ (Lévi-Strauss 2009: 259); the focus on specific aspects of the past by society is based on those which have some value to it. Other parts that are ‘deemed irrelevant or disruptive to the flow of the narrative’ are ignored or covered up.

well; those aspects of history which have apparently been forgotten leave traces in the society which has forgotten them. These traces may be rediscovered at any point in the future. The rediscovery of ancient Greek science and technology by the scholars of medieval Europe²¹ is one example of how the knowledge and ideas of a society, seemingly forgotten, can be re-found at a point far removed in the future, thus demonstrating that there is no time limit on the rediscovery of memories or knowledge.

When looking at forgetting in ancient Egypt it is important, therefore, to look for traces of what was forgotten, but whose memory survived in other ways.²² Looking for gaps in memory is in many ways more challenging than looking for memory, as the gaps between memory far outweigh memory itself.²³ It is not, therefore, feasible to create a catalogue of instances of forgetting. Instead specific examples will be taken from the previous three chapters as well as some new material to illustrate forgetting in Egyptian society.

As has already been discussed, one way of defining different types of forgetting is to analyse separately instances of ‘active’ and of ‘passive’ forgetting. Although this distinction is not without its shortcomings, these broad divisions will be used to guide an analysis of the examples discussed here. The catalogue created for this chapter includes only evidence which has not been included in the catalogues for any of the other three chapters. Evidence which is included in other chapters will continue to be referred to by the catalogue numbers given

²¹ See, for example, Whitney (2004: 22-23), Wigelsworth (2006).

²² In her study of memory and identity in the Dakleh Osais, for example, Boozer (2011) uses evidence of a specifically ‘Dakhlan way of being’ as evidence of the forgetting of previous identities (e.g. Roman, Greek and Egyptian cultures); here, it is the new memories that act as a marker of those that have been forgotten.

²³ Take, for example, tomb depictions as discussed in ch. 3 of this study; each depiction shows one or more royal ancestor and thus acts as a memory of these figures. But by choosing to remember a specific individual, the tomb owner or artisan automatically ‘forgot’ a whole host of other individuals (depictions of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari which are relatively common, whilst remembering these two figures, ‘forget’ all of the pre-Eighteenth Dynasty royal ancestors as well as Amenhotep II, Amenhotep II, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III and so on).

previously. In this way, it has been possible to avoid ascribing multiple catalogue numbers to any one piece of evidence.

5.4. ACTIVE FORGETTING

Active forgetting will be discussed first. These are ‘intentional acts’ which include the destruction and erasure of sites of memory (A. Assmann 2010: 97-98). Under this category will be included, therefore, examples wherein the memory of a royal ancestor has been deliberately damaged or erased.

5.4.1. THE ALTERATION OF THE CARTOUCHE IN TT345 (F06T01)

TT345 includes several cartouches of Thutmose I; the majority of them are part of titles relating to his memorial cult,²⁴ but one is not, reading instead ‘*nsw ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ ʕnh. ti*’, a phrase that implies that Thutmose I was king when the tomb was built.²⁵ Whale (1989: 87 and endnote), however, suggests that this cartouche was not originally that of Thutmose I but was, in fact, changed at a later date from that of Hatshepsut.²⁶ It is difficult to confirm this claim; the tomb has not been fully published and the only drawing of the inscription is that of Lepsius, which does not include any indication of damage or alterations to the cartouche.²⁷ However, it is notable that all of the other cartouches of Thutmose I within the tomb relate to

²⁴ See, for example, title T06T20 which records Amenhotep as ‘First king’s son of Aakheperkara’. Other examples can be found in *LD III*: 9[b, d, f].

²⁵ Kampp (1996: 584) dates this tomb to the reigns of Thutmose I – Hatshepsut but notes that the evidence for this dating is only circumstantial. It is possible that the primary reason for the early dating to the reign of Thutmose I is due to the inclusion of his cartouche in the phrase highlighted above. Whale (1989: 87 and endnote) notes that the inclusion of *ʕnh.ti* after the cartouche of Thutmose I suggests that the king was living at the time that the tomb was built.

²⁶ If this were the case then the ‘living’ king would not be Thutmose I but Hatshepsut and would, perhaps, place the dating of the tomb more firmly in the latter’s reign.

²⁷ This text is also included in Urk IV: 106 but, again, does not suggest that the cartouche was altered from that of Hatshepsut, thus throwing no further light on the matter.

his memorial cult (Whale 1989: 87 and endnote), and so this one is somewhat of an anomaly. Whale argues, furthermore, that certain artistic elements of the tomb design place it no earlier than the reign of Thutmose III,²⁸ which supports the idea that the cartouche in question was not originally that of Thutmose I.

Whale (1989: 87 and endnote) concludes that the tomb was begun during the reign of Hatshepsut and some of the decoration was completed in this period, including the cartouche in question. After the death of Hatshepsut, however, the decoration continued in the style of Thutmose III and the reference to Hatshepsut was erased, being replaced by the name of the king in whose memorial cult the tomb owner served.²⁹ If this is, indeed, the sequence of events then this is an example of the deliberate erasure of the name of a royal individual at the point that they became an ‘ancestor’.³⁰ At the time that the name was recorded on the wall of the tomb Hatshepsut was the living pharaoh and, as such, was accorded a place within the tomb inscriptions. However, after her death it was no longer desirable to include her and so her name was altered to that of a more favoured royal ancestor.³¹ In this sense the erasure of

²⁸ See, again, Whale (1989: 87 and endnote). She discusses, for example, the inclusion of the wife of the tomb owner in a libation scene (*LD iii*: 9d); this does not occur in tomb decoration before the reign of Thutmose III. See also Kees (1953: 76-77) who writes that ‘Soweit die Bildausschnitte bei Lepsius ein Urteil erlauben, scheint Stil und Komposition auf die Zeit Thutmosis‘ III. hinzuweisen’. Schmitz (1976: 285-286) also dates this tomb to the reign of Thutmose III, suggesting that the position of Amenhotep as ‘First King’s Son of Thutmose I’, a title which does not occur in this context before the reign of Thutmose III, may have been linked to Hatshepsut’s desire to legitimise her own position through her ancestors.

²⁹ This does beg the question of why the artisans, or the tomb owner himself, chose to replace the cartouche of Hatshepsut, the previous pharaoh, not with that of Thutmose III who now reigned independently but with that of Thutmose I. This can, however, be explained by the names themselves; the cartouche of Hatshepsut would have contained three signs, *R^c*, *M3^ct* and *k3* in that order (reading *M3^ct-k3-R^c*). It would have, therefore, been easier to alter this to read *3-hpr-k3-R^c* than to read *Mn-hpr-R^c*; to alter the cartouche to read *3-hpr-k3-R^c* would have involved changing the *M3^ct* sign to *3-hpr* but the artisan could have left the first and last signs unchanged, while altering it to read *Mn-hpr-R^c* would have necessitated erasing and rewriting every sign.

³⁰ While the original inclusion of Hatshepsut’s image in the tomb is not necessarily a form of memory, as she was the living pharaoh at the time that she was included, the erasure of her image after her death denotes a form of forgetting.

³¹ It is possible that the alteration was simply due to the fact that the pharaoh had changed, rather than a specific rejection of Hatshepsut. If this was the case, however, surely it would have been enough to alter the inscription to show that Hatshepsut was now deceased; that the inscription was changed not to the new, current pharaoh but to an ancestor suggests that removing Hatshepsut’s name was the primary aim rather than correcting the scene to reflect the new ruler.

her name can be understood as part of the process of forming a new identity, as set out in Connerton's third form of forgetting; by erasing her name and replacing it with that of Thutmose I, the tomb owner began to develop new memories based on an altered history. This allowed for a different identity to be forged in which Hatshepsut as pharaoh did not play a part.

As noted above, Gross (2000: 25, 28) stresses the place of memory as a cultural ideal, emphasising the type of knowledge that was retained rather than simply the amount. The retaining of the memory of Hatshepsut as a king's wife, as seen in TT93 which includes a depiction of a statue of Hatshepsut as 'great royal wife',³² contrasted with the erasure of the memory of her as pharaoh seen in TT345, is a key example of this; the memory of Hatshepsut as ruler was undesirable, while the memory of her as consort was acceptable to Egyptian ideals. Remembering, here, is not about quantity but about quality, and to maintain the 'quality' of memory, one must also forget. As Brockmeier (2002: 22) writes, 'selecting information ... means rejecting and excluding other information – information deemed to be obscured, repressed or forgotten'. A simple point, perhaps, but an important one, which is relevant both on an individual and on a social level.

5.4.1.1. OTHER INSTANCES OF THE ERASURE OF HATSHEPSUT'S MEMORY IN PRIVATE TOMBS

Instances of Hatshepsut's name and image being erased from private tombs after her death can be found elsewhere in the Theban necropolis, for example in TT73. In this tomb, Säve-Söderbergh writes, 'all the representations of the queen have been erased, as well as her

³² See D07T03.

name' (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 1).³³ This is a much more extreme example of the erasure of Hatshepsut's memory. One example is a scene of gifts being brought to the pharaoh in which the erasure of Hatshepsut is clearly visible as a large damaged section of the depiction (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: pls. i, ii). Of course, it should be noted that unlike the cartouche discussed above there is no attempt here to cover the erasure or to replace it with another image; it is simply left as an absence. The focus is not on replacing Hatshepsut but solely on actively destroying her memory. In TT73 the act was left as a visible statement of erasure, a *damnatio memoriae*, while in TT345 the queen was quietly replaced with a more suitable candidate.

This difference can likely be explained by the driving forces behind the erasures. The alteration of the cartouche in TT345 was probably carried out at the request of the tomb owner himself after the death of Hatshepsut so as to make his tomb more suitable for the current situation. He, therefore, had a vested interest in ensuring that the finished product was of a high quality. The destruction in TT73, however, was likely carried out by other individuals, possibly supported by the state, who had a specific political agenda to fulfil,³⁴ but no real concern for the wellbeing of the tomb itself.³⁵ Perhaps the individuals who erased the images in TT73 also wanted to make a clear statement that they had done so, rather than simply replacing what they saw unacceptable imagery.

³³ He notes, further, that the name of the tomb owner has been left undamaged, which contrasts with other equable tombs such as TT67, TT110 and that of Senenmut; he writes that 'to erase the names of the adherents of Hatshepsut was the normal thing for the party of Thutmose III to do' (Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 1).

³⁴ That no attempt was made to repair the damage by covering it with another image, suggests that the tomb owner was not involved; surely if he was, he would have attempted to repair the destruction and return his tomb to its original state in preparation for his burial.

³⁵ If this is the case then the damage to the images of Hatshepsut in TT73 could be seen as destruction by the Egyptian authorities as opposed to private examples of 'forgetting' which are the focus of this study. Their primary importance with regards this discussion, therefore, is in furthering understanding of the social and political context of the alteration in TT345.

5.4.1.2. STATE ERASURE OF THE MEMORY OF HATSHEPSUT

It is important to understand the social and political context in which the alteration of the cartouche in TT345 occurred. And, as noted again above, the key to this can be found in the destruction of Hatshepsut's images in other private tombs as well as on state monuments. An example of erasures on state monuments is found at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.³⁶ Another example occurs at the Red Chapel at Karnak wherein a large number of instances of the image or name of Hatshepsut have been erased (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: pls. ii-iv, vii-viii, x-xi, xiii-xiv, xvi, xviii-xxi, xxiv). The date at which the erasures were carried out is uncertain, with some scholars arguing that Hatshepsut's name was expunged soon after her death while others suggest that the erasures were carried out somewhat later, but it is likely that they were carried out by her successor, Thutmose III.³⁷ Furthermore the building of the temple of Djeser-Akhet at Deir el-Bahri by Thutmose III could be understood as an attempt to lessen the important position of Hatshepsut's own temple at the site (Lipinska 1967: 31); Lipinska cites this as the final act in a long series of moves to erase the memory of Hatshepsut.³⁸ It appears that her successor undertook a clear campaign at some point during his reign to erase her memory and, where this was not entirely possible, to supersede it. The fact that images and cartouches of Hatshepsut were erased primarily in visible areas whilst being left undamaged in more private rooms suggests that the erasure of Hatshepsut may have

³⁶ See, for example, Naville (1895: 6-7, pls. iv, v), which shows the erasure of Hatshepsut (both her figure and her name) after her death.

³⁷ See, for example, Hayes (1973: 9, facs. 9a), Gardiner (1961: 187). Nims (1966: 100) suggests that the destruction at the Red Chapel at Karnak occurred late in the reign of Thutmose III, probably 'after the forty-second year'. Naville (1906: 71-72) agrees, writing that 'if Thutmose III was the author of a few of these erasures, he did not begin by making them, and they do not belong to the early years of his reign', and Shaw (2000: 243) suggests that in the early years of his sole reign Thutmose III focused on attempting to 'fill the landscape of the Nile Valley with reminders of his own reign' rather than on erasing the name of Hatshepsut. Dorman (1988: 9-17) provides an overview of some of the more prominent theories prior to 1988.

³⁸ Lipinska (1967: 31) writes that 'Tuthmosis III had already built his mortuary temple at Qurna and had erased the names of Hatshepsut in her temples; towards the end of his life he decided to move again and to deprive the temple of Hatshepsut of its predominance at Deir el-Bahri and to establish his own domination there'.

been more due to political motivations than personal hatred (D. Redford 1967: 87);³⁹ erasing her image was a visible statement of the state's rejection of the queen as pharaoh and so was not as necessary in areas where this statement would not have been seen.

But if these attacks were not carried out by an angry and bitter successor for personal reasons, then one must explain the action of Thutmose III by examining the issue of a female pharaoh in Egyptian ideology. Robins (1993: 21, 23) notes that royal women in Egypt held importance through their relationship to the king and were referred to in these terms with titles such as *hmt nsw*, *s3t nsw* and *mwt nsw*;⁴⁰ their role was not a primary but a supporting one. That is not to say that royal women were unimportant, with women such as Ahmose-Nefertari holding positions of great renown, but even she held her position alongside Amenhotep I and not alone.⁴¹ Royal women were important as the wife of the king, the mother of his successor, and held great status. Female pharaohs, however, were a rare phenomenon, with the only comparable example prior to Hatshepsut being Sobekneferu who ruled briefly at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁴² As such, Hatshepsut's reign went against the status quo, and even

³⁹ See, for example, Hayes (1935: 138), who writes that Thutmose III 'came to independent power with a loathing for Hatshepsut, her partisans, her monuments, her name and her very memory which practically beggars description'. D. Redford (1967: 87) writes, however, that 'Thutmose was motivated not so much by a genuine hatred as by political necessity. His own legitimacy stood in need of legitimation, and his own link with his illustrious grandfather Thutmose I had to be emphasised'. D. Redford's conclusion is the more likely, and may explain why the erasures occurred towards the latter part of his reign as part of a coherent programme, rather than being carried out quickly and haphazardly. Gilbert (1953: 221) writes that while Thutmose III erased images of Hatshepsut in a 'historical' context (i.e. those which showed her position as a pharaoh), he paid more respect to 'religious' images of the queen, which suggests that it was her place in the history of the country rather than her actual person whom he was attacking. As a pharaoh, Hatshepsut was in violation of *m3't*; it was important, therefore, for Thutmose III to distance himself from her in order to ensure the continued success of his rule and of that of his successors (the pharaoh as the protector of *m3't* being key to his right to call himself the rightful king of Egypt).

⁴⁰ 'King's wife', 'king's daughter', 'king's mother'.

⁴¹ See, for example, ch. 3.6.1.2.2 for more on the role of Ahmose-Nefertari.

⁴² It should be noted that she was the final ruler in this dynasty, thus perhaps avoiding the issues which were faced by Thutmose III in the wake of Hatshepsut's reign. Ryholt (1997: 69), however, writes that the Thirteenth Dynasty was a 'direct continuation of the Twelfth Dynasty' and so it should not be assumed that a split in dynasties equates to an actual separation. There is, however, very little surviving evidence of this queen and so it is difficult to be sure how her memory was treated directly after her death (Callender 2000: 170-171). Perhaps the lack of evidence of her reign might be taken, in itself, as evidence of an unfavourable reaction after her death. See also ch. 2.4.1 for Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti naming Sobekneferu.

against *m3ʿt* itself,⁴³ and was considered a threat to the established order. By erasing the memory of her rule, Thutmose III could portray himself as the sole successor of Thutmose II, thus continuing the strong line of male Thutmoside kings and avoiding any uncertainty as to the legitimacy of his rule (see, for example, Tyldsley (1996: 225)).

These state attempts to remove the memory of individuals such as Hatshepsut relate to Connerton's first form of memory, repressive erasure. The state erased the memory of specific individuals in order to serve a purpose for society, in this case legitimising the current ruler and maintaining the status quo. It used erasure to 'deny the ... historical rupture',⁴⁴ that was the reign of Hatshepsut; the queen acted as a disconnect between revered royal ancestors and the current ruler. By removing her, this connection could be re-emphasised, thus legitimising the position of the current ruling elite.

Given this understanding of the state's treatment of Hatshepsut after her death, perhaps the classification of the erasure in TT345 can be re-examined. While probably carried out by a private individual, it may have been inspired by state actions; official erasure of Hatshepsut's memory may have normalised this behaviour and encouraged private individuals to follow suit. In this case, the erasure in TT345 can be seen as a private example of repressive erasure, which demonstrates the links between the actions of the state and those of private individuals. While Connerton (2008: 60-61) states that repressive erasure is enacted by the state, a private form which mirrors those actions surely must be permissible; by creating an environment in

⁴³ The pharaoh was the defender of *m3ʿt*, on which the order and success of Egypt depended. For the king to go against this would have put the entire future of Egypt at risk. It was vital, therefore, that *m3ʿt* was restored by Thutmose III after the break represented by Hatshepsut's rule, to pave the way for his successors. Instead of beginning his solo reign with a violent attack on Hatshepsut's memory he waited until she had been buried and his own rule established. It was then possible for him to remove her memory and build a basis on which his successors could thrive.

⁴⁴ Connerton (2008: 60).

which the memory of a specific person or event was unfavourable, the state encouraged copycat actions by individuals. The active forgetting of the state was recognised by private individuals and followed in an equally active way. The damage in TT73 adds to this idea, implying that erasures in private spaces were often carried out visibly and left as noticeable absences, clearly showing that actions in private supported those erasures carried out in more official spaces.

5.4.2. THE ERASURE OF AKHENATEN AND NEFERTITI IN TT188 (F14T03)

While the erasure of images of Akhenaten and Nefertiti both in private tombs and on state monuments appears to have been widespread in the post-Amarna Period, the aim of this section is not to create a catalogue of every instance but to discuss the practice as an example of active forgetting. One example, therefore, will be highlighted, that of TT188.

TT188 dates to the reign of Amenhotep III-Akhenaten and belonged to a man called Parennefer.⁴⁵ As was typical, depictions of the reigning king were a prominent part of the tomb decoration,⁴⁶ although it would appear that Parennefer abandoned work on the tomb in the fifth year of Akhenaten's reign, choosing instead to move to the new royal city at Akhetaten(Amarna) (S. Redford 2000: 245). There is, however, enough completed decoration in the tomb to allow further examination, with six scenes of the king and queen listed by Porter and Moss (I.II: 293-294). While the scenes, when created, were of the living king, they were damaged in the later part of the Eighteenth Dynasty after Akhenaten's death.

⁴⁵ See PM I.I: 293-295, Davies (1923: 136-145), Susan Redford (2000), Asunta Redford (2006).

⁴⁶ For example Davies (1923: pl. xxiii).

Davies (1923: 139) notes that the erasure of the cartouche of the Aten and the figure of Akhenaten is commonly found in this tomb, suggesting a directed campaign against the memory of Akhenaten's Atenist agenda. Asunta Redford (2006: 15) writes that in TT188 'Horemheb's deliberate programme of effacement wreaked havoc on the wall scenes by completely erasing the royal couple's image and cartouches wherever they appeared', although it is not entirely evident whether these erasures were carried out directly by vessels of the state or by private individuals. Yet even if the orders were officially given, it is quite possible that the actual act of erasure was done by members of the local community under the orders of the state. The deliberate damage to Akhenaten's name in TT188 epitomises the destruction in tombs in the post-Amarna period and, in many ways, replicates that found in the aftermath of Hatshepsut's reign, as discussed previously.

Despite the damage, it has been possible to recreate many of the scenes by examining the remaining sections and also through the identification of relevant blocks in the tomb debris. Information about the chronology of the scenes and the dating of the tomb and its decoration have also added to the reconstructed scenes (see A. Redford 2006: 75-87).

The damage to the memory of Akhenaten occurs right from the entrance of the tomb, where his cartouches and image have been hacked out (Davies 1923: pl. xxiii). Within the tomb, Asunta Redford notes (2006: 19, 85-87, fig. 6), for example, the destruction of a scene in the courtyard which originally showed Akhenaten and Nefertiti giving offerings beneath the sun whose rays reached down to them. She writes (2006: 19) that 'only the very edges of this extensive scene are legible as it was hacked out by Horemheb's men'. She describes a second scene on the east side of the north wall in which the king who is, again, almost entirely erased, is depicted in a window of appearance (A. Redford 2006: 25-26, 80-82, pls. 8-9, fig.

3); in this scene the erasure of the contents of Akhenaten's is also clear.⁴⁷ A third scene on the left side of the east wall originally showed the king seated within a kiosk; again, only the extremities of the enclosure have survived (A. Redford 2006: 32, pl. 17).⁴⁸

A further group of scenes on the west side of the north wall showed the king followed by Parennefer in three separate panels (A. Redford 2006: 36-37, 82-85, figs. 4, 5). In one, the outline of the king's blue crown can be recognised but little else of the royal figure (A. Redford 2006: 36, pl. 23);⁴⁹ here the king stood with Parennefer behind him with a text recording the offering of various foodstuffs. A second panel on the same wall may have shown the king presenting offerings (A. Redford 2006: 39).⁵⁰ The third panel on the west side of the north wall showed the souls of Pe performing *hy-hnw*, while the king stood to the side wearing the blue crown. Parennefer stood behind Akhenaten (A. Redford 2006: 41).

A scene on the east side of the south wall contained a royal kiosk, now erased, in which sat Akhenaten and Nefertiti. In front of them knelt Parennefer receiving honours from the royal couple (A. Redford 2006: 43-44, pls. 30-33, fig. 2). A final scene, on the west side of the south wall, included the king possibly alongside the queen,⁵¹ seated within a dais with Parennefer shown seven times holding a ceremonial staff and walking towards the king (A. Redford 2006: 49-50, pls. 38-39, fig. 1).

⁴⁷ See also Davies (1923: 141).

⁴⁸ See also Davies (1923: pl. xxvi).

⁴⁹ Some of the fragments were recovered in the shaft of the tomb, which has allowed some reconstruction of the tomb (A. Redford 2006: 36). A. Redford (2006: 36) notes, further, that it is unclear who was responsible for removal of the fragments from the wall, but suggests that the bright colours in the relief indicate that the damage occurred in ancient times.

⁵⁰ A. Redford (2006: 39) questions whether the king presented offerings or if 'the "souls of Nekhen" perform *hy-hnw*'.

⁵¹ See A. Redford (2006: 76).

The sheer number of erased scenes shows a concerted effort after the reign of Akhenaten to remove both his image and his name from this monument. While it is not possible to be certain if these acts of erasure were carried out by members of the community or by agents of the state, destruction to private tombs would have been clearly visible to the Egyptian people who visited the tombs of their ancestors; the image and name of Akhenaten was no longer accessible to the people who entered the tomb of Parennefer and the gaps in the decoration stood as reminders of this erasure.

5.4.2.1. THE POST-AMARNA ERASURES

The erasures in TT188 are, of course, only one example of a wider policy of erasure that occurred in Egypt in the post-Amarna period. After the death of Akhenaten an attempt was made to remove the Amarna Period from memory; the court abandoned the city of Akhetaten and the religion of the Aten was rejected (van Dijk 2000: 290-292).

Tutankhamun's restoration stela clearly sets out the aim of the state to restore the traditional gods of Egypt and, therefore, to reject the innovations of the Amarna Period; it immediately sets Tutankhamun up as 'beloved of Amun-Ra', thus emphasising his close relationship with the god and his intention to revert to the old religion in which Amun was pivotal.⁵²

Akhenaten's name was omitted from private⁵³ and official⁵⁴ chronologies. Reeves (2005: 191) notes that the Amarna kings were removed from the record and their monuments were

⁵² A translation and a photo of the stela can be found in van Dijk (2003). The stela goes on to set out plans to restore the temples of the gods following the period of neglect and disorder that had preceded.

⁵³ An example of this can be found in TT19, which dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty. In this tomb is a depiction of the deceased before two rows of royal figures; they include kings from Ahmose to Amenhotep III and then from

usurped by Horemheb and his successors, thus promoting Horemheb as the direct descendent of Amenhotep III.⁵⁵ The usurpation of the monuments of the Amarna kings can be seen, for example, at Karnak where the cartouches of Tutankhamun and Aye were replaced by those of Horemheb (Dodson 2009: 126).⁵⁶ Furthermore, Akhenaten's temples at Thebes were taken down and the blocks used in the building activities of the new kings (Dodson 2009: 125).⁵⁷ There was, therefore, a clear state aim to remove the memory of Akhenaten and the Amarna Period from the Egyptian record and from Egyptian memory; the erasures in private tombs, such as in TT188, can be seen as a part of this, although whether they were actually carried out by the state or by private individuals is less certain.

These erasures can be seen in much the same light as those of Hatshepsut; as an attempt to deny a break in the continuity of succession. However, while the 'break' represented by Hatshepsut was that of a female pharaoh, that of Akhenaten was a rejection of the state god Amun. The cult of Amun was a key part of Egyptian society and economy, with the priesthood of Amun holding a lot of power throughout Egypt. The importance of the cult is evidenced by Papyrus Harris I, written in the early reign of Ramesses IV, which lays out the personnel who were active in the estates of Amun throughout Egypt and counts 86, 486 individuals (Grandet 1994: 235-236).⁵⁸ A return to the status-quo after the death of Akhenaten was, therefore, to be expected; such a powerful body as the priesthood of Amun would not let its control remain affected for long, and a rejection of the cult of the Aten must include a

Horemheb to Seti I, but Akhenaten, Tutankhamun and Aye are conspicuous by their absence (Foucart 1935: pls. xi-xii).

⁵⁴ For example the list of royal ancestors of Seti I at Abydos (David 1973: 196).

⁵⁵ Other studies, such as D. Redford (1984) and Dodson (2009), look both at the Amarna Period and the following rejection of Akhenaten and his theology.

⁵⁶ Smaller objects and statues were also included in the programme. An example of this is British Museum EA75, which was originally carved for Tutankhamun but was later inscribed for Horemheb.

⁵⁷ See also Roeder (1969) for details of the blocks from the temple of Akhenaten that have been identified in other building projects.

⁵⁸ See also Haring (1997: 175).

rejection of the king who championed it, Akhenaten. Unlike the cartouche of Hatshepsut in TT345, which was replaced with the name of Thutmose I, the name and image of Akhenaten was not replaced. As already noted, this may be explained by the fact that the cartouche of Hatshepsut was erased while the owner of TT345 was still alive, so that he ‘corrected’ the error to complete his tomb; this is in contrast to the damage to TT188 which was carried out after the tomb owner’s death.

Yet, the fact remains that the treatment of Akhenaten’s name and image was very different to that of Hatshepsut in this instance,⁵⁹ although it resembles more closely the erasures found in TT73. It was left as a void and, in a way, continued to act as a memorial to the king. While later visitors to the tomb may not have been able to access his name, they could interact with the absence of his memory through the damaged scenes, which stood as a statement about his rejection. Akhenaten’s memory was replaced, not by a new memory, but by a memory of erasure. The question one is left with, therefore, is whether those who erased Akhenaten’s memory were truly attempting to make his name forgotten, or if they were making a statement about the act of erasing him. Again, the complex relationship of forgetting and remembering is highlighted.

⁵⁹ Although it should be noted that the damage to Hatshepsut’s image and cartouche monuments varied greatly, with different techniques employed ranging from the removal of feminine endings in titles, to the usurpation of cartouches, to the complete removal of images of Hatshepsut (and even the carving of objects to cover the space) (see Roth (2005a: 277-281) for details of the different kinds of erasure).

5.4.3. THE RESTORATION OF THE TOMB OF THUTMOSE IV, KV43 (G14T23, G14T24)

Two graffiti in KV43 record the work of Maya and his assistant during the reign of Horemheb to restore the tomb of Thutmose IV after the damage caused to it by tomb robbers. They state that they were called to

repeat the burial of King Menkheperura, true of voice, in the noble house on western Thebes (G14T23)

The texts date to the eighth year of Horemheb, approximately seventy-five years after the death of Thutmose IV. Peden (2001: 142) writes that these are the earliest evidence of royal tomb robbery in the Valley of the Kings, although of course this does not mean that such activities did not occur previously. It should also be noted that although the graffiti is dated to the eighth year of Horemheb this does not mean that the robbery occurred at this time; it may have happened earlier but not been realised until this point.⁶⁰

5.4.3.1. A POSSIBLE ROBBERY IN KV62

Evidence of a break-in at the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV62) at a similar time has also been cited.⁶¹ This suggests that tomb robbery was not an entirely uncommon occurrence in this period. The robbery of royal tombs so soon after the burial of their owners implies that the

⁶⁰ Peden (2001: 143), for example, suggests that the robbery may have taken place during the ‘troubled times’ of the late Amarna Period.

⁶¹ Reeves (1990b: 96) bases this assumption on the fact that cosmetics were taken by the thieves; these commodities would have lasted only a few years from the date of burial, suggesting that the robbery must have taken place quickly. Jansen-Winkeln (1995: 64), however, disagrees with this conclusion, citing the argument of Krauss (1986).

desire of certain members of the community to supplement their income overrode the importance of the sites as places of memory and veneration. At the time of robbery these sites were not ancient and the memories of the kings who had been interred in them were still a part of recent history. It is possible, therefore, that these sites never held the importance for the community, or at least parts of it, that they did for the state; can they really be seen as sites of memory if their importance was not recognised beyond the elite?

Graffiti spread around the valleys in this region suggest that the sites were visited by individuals and that they were recognised as important (see Spiegelberg (1921), Černý et al. (1969-1970)). Unfortunately most of the graffiti cannot be dated securely and that which can be dates to later periods. The sheer number of texts and the frequent inclusion of royal names, however, suggests that the valleys of the west bank were seen as having symbolic importance by many who visited them. While some, therefore, viewed the area as a place of veneration, others altered its meaning, understanding it as a place of opportunity and wealth to be accessed by looting the tombs.

One must also consider either the possibility that the same group may have been responsible for both robberies, in KV43 and in KV62. Reeves (1990a: 97) notes that a graffito which can be found on a jar stand in the tomb of Tutankhamun includes the same name as that of Maya's assistant as recorded in KV43. That the name Djehutymes occurs in graffiti in both tombs supports the theory that the tomb of Tutankhamun was restored in the reign of Horemheb; if this is true then the tomb of Tutankhamun must have been first robbed prior to the reign of Horemheb, which supports the suggestion that the same group of tomb robbers may have been responsible for the incursions into both tombs. One should not, therefore, assume that

tomb robbery was widely supported as it may have been primarily carried out by small groups of the community.

5.4.3.2. TOMB ROBBERY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Tomb robberies are not well documented in the Eighteenth Dynasty; as noted above the only two recorded examples are found via restoration graffiti.⁶² The best evidence for royal tomb robbery in ancient Egypt are the Tomb Robbery Papyri of the Twentieth Dynasty;⁶³ these detail the inspections of royal tombs and record thefts as well as interrogations of tomb robbers. Papyrus Abbott, for example, records the inspection of ten royal tombs, of which one had been plundered (Peet 1977: 38, pl. ii(3), lines 15-16). Here one can see that the robbery of royal tombs did occur, and the care of the authorities to inspect them suggests that it was of concern to them.

Furthermore, Graefe (2003: 80) looks in detail at the royal cache in tomb TT320 and concludes that four potential types of tomb robbery can be identified: firstly the sheets of gold leaf which were removed from the coffins in their original burial place, some of which were restored with yellow paint; secondly, the plundering of Twenty-Second Dynasty coffins during the Twenty-Third Dynasty; thirdly, the much later robberies of the Abdel Rassoul family; and finally he posits that the coffins may have also been plundered by the men who moved them from their original burial place to the cache.⁶⁴ Jansen-Winkel (1995: 66), additionally, suggests that the removal of gold from the burials may have actually been done at the behest of the government. Graefe (2003: 81) points out that this may not be compatible

⁶² Of course the 'restoration' of the tomb of Tutankhamun must be treated with caution.

⁶³ See Peet (1977).

⁶⁴ See also Jansen-Winkel (1995) for discussion of royal tomb robberies.

with the evidence of restoration to the coffins at a similar time, although he does note the possibility that the order to ‘confiscate’ valuable items was accompanied by a further one that the gold on the coffins was to be replaced with yellow paint after its removal.⁶⁵ Several types of tomb robbery, therefore, may have taken place at different moments in time; the robbery of a tomb, be it royal or non-royal, was not simply a one-time occurrence but could be carried out by different groups in order to procure various valuable commodities.

The motivations behind the looting of royal tombs recorded in these sources were different,⁶⁶ and they are from a later period.⁶⁷ They provide evidence, however, that tomb robbery did occur in Thebes and support the theory that the restoration text found in KV43 may have been a response to robberies; the papyri show that robberies were carried out to obtain precious materials that could then be used or sold although the level of elite or state involvement in the looting may have, at times, been high (Jansen-Winkel 1995). If, however, tomb robbery is accepted as a feature of Egyptian society in the later New Kingdom, it is reasonable to suggest that it also occurred in the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in times of political unrest such as the Amarna Period.⁶⁸ Jansen-Winkel (1995: 62-63) suggests that the large-scale robberies of tombs took place towards the end of the New Kingdom, citing in particular the period of unrest in the late Ramesside Period, although with the exception of the robbery of KV43 (Jansen-Winkel 1995: 65). Yet even if this were the case it does not mean that small amounts of looting did not occur in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁶⁵ J. Taylor (1991: 187-188) also writes that the removal of gold from certain areas of the coffins by those who were responsible for their reburial in the cache can be attributed to a desire to ‘prevent the destruction of elements of the decoration which carried special religious import’, noting that only some of the gold was removed, possibly that which was considered most at risk, and that the areas were then restored with yellow paint (see also Reeves (1990b: 276-278)).

⁶⁶ The late New Kingdom tomb robberies may have been state sanctioned (see Jansen-Winkel (1995)) rather than carried out solely by private individuals although, as discussed above, motivations varied with looting also being carried out in a private capacity in some periods.

⁶⁷ Peet (1977: xiii) suggests that the texts date from no earlier than the reign of Ramesses IX.

⁶⁸ As noted above, Peden (2001: 143) cites this as a likely time at which the robbery in KV43 took place.

5.4.3.3. DESTRUCTION AS FORGETTING

Here the issue is not the erasure of a name or even an image, but the destruction or looting of a royal tomb. The tomb, in a sense, lost its role as a site of memory relating to a past king and became a repository of valuable artefacts which certain individuals wanted to access.

While it is not known what damage Maya and his apprentice were called to restore in KV43, that found in later periods can provide some information. As noted above, the stripping of gold from coffins seems to have been a popular form of looting, as does the removal of valuable pieces of funerary equipment. Further to this, damage to mummies themselves has been recorded with some having undergone the severing of limbs or even the head to allow access to ornamental items (Posener 1975: 81). In these cases one can see that the mummies themselves no longer represented the mortal bodies of deceased royalty, who must be accorded respect as the ancestors of the king, but simply corpses whose wellbeing was secondary to the proliferation of valuable goods.

While the destruction of memory objects suggests a form of Connerton's 'repressive erasure', the similarity ends here. Connerton's phenomenon suggests a deliberate campaign by the authorities to remove the memory of a particular person or event through the destruction of reminders. The example here, however, focuses on the actions of private individuals whose main aim was not to destroy memory but to procure goods; the tomb was viewed as a valuable commodity rather than as a site of memory. In this sense, the destruction within the tomb should not be seen as active forgetting in and of itself, but as a result of passive

forgetting that has already begun;⁶⁹ the memory and meaning of the tomb had been lost, or lessened, and this led to the site being re-understood as a commodity.

The fact remains, however, that the tombs as sites of memory had been lost for those who looted them, and the act of looting the tomb changed its meaning for those who came after. As has already been discussed, memory and forgetting are constantly interacting; here, the forgetting of certain memories relating to the site made way for a new identity to be formed around it, with fresh memory and interpretations. Furthermore the Tomb Robbery Papyri demonstrate that the robberies conversely helped to develop a new memory with regards to the tombs; the inspections of the royal tombs as recorded in the papyri show that officials periodically visited them so as to check for signs of robbery,⁷⁰ thus helping to retain the memory of these sites in certain circles of society.⁷¹ This, again, emphasises the place of forgetting and remembering as opposite sides of the same coin.

5.5. PASSIVE FORGETTING

Passive forgetting is defined as ‘non-intentional acts’ which incorporate such phenomena as losing and neglecting (A. Assmann 2010: 98). Through this, certain individuals or events are lost from memory. Under this term, therefore, instances wherein the memory of a royal individual or individuals has been left out or neglected will be discussed, although the effects of this are not always known. The link between active and passive forgetting, as discussed above, will also be looked at.

⁶⁹ This example has been included under passive forgetting due to its link with Connerton’s repressive erasure. It lies, however, somewhere between active and passive forgetting. It is a deliberate action, but is in many ways motivated by a passive forgetting of the original purpose of the tomb.

⁷⁰ For example, Papyrus Abbott (Peet 1977: 37-39, pls. i[2], ii[3]).

⁷¹ Although this was not the aim of the inspections.

5.5.1. HATSHEPSUT AS ‘GREAT ROYAL WIFE’ IN TT93 (D07T03)

A scene already noted several times in this study is relevant here; this is the scene of the New Year’s Gifts of Amenhotep II as depicted in TT93. It shows statues being brought to Amenhotep II as part of the festivities. While the majority of these statues are of Amenhotep II himself, two do not follow this trend, representing instead Thutmose I and Hatshepsut respectively. Two pertinent issues are raised by this scene; firstly the inclusion of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut without the inclusion of other individuals such as Thutmose II, and secondly the use of the term ‘great royal wife’ when referring to Hatshepsut.

The omission of individuals from depictions will be discussed in more detail below⁷² and so this section will focus on the title of Hatshepsut. As already noted, in this scene Hatshepsut is given the title ‘great royal wife’ (*ḥmt nsw wrt*) which emphasises her role as the wife of the king whilst ignoring her position as pharaoh in her own right; her pharaonic titles are ‘forgotten’ in favour of her role as consort to the king. The need to eliminate Hatshepsut’s memory has been discussed above, and this depiction further emphasises that it was not Hatshepsut herself who was unfavourable but her role as king. Hatshepsut as a prominent female at court was acceptable. In her position as ‘great royal wife’ she did not challenge the status quo, or present any risk to Thutmose III’s own legitimacy, but acted in her allotted role as a powerful consort. This passive forgetting may, therefore, perhaps be linked with the

⁷² See below, ch. 5.5.2.

active destruction of her name and image as discussed previously,⁷³ with TT93 demonstrating the distinction between the two roles of Hatshepsut and the different reactions to each.

This is an example of remembering only those aspects of memory which are considered socially relevant in the present. It correlates in many ways to Connerton's 'structural amnesia' (Connerton 2008: 64); memory is retained selectively and the 'irrelevant' or harmful aspects are simply forgotten. As already discussed, in the case of Hatshepsut there was a concerted state campaign to erase her memory, but the focus was on the removal of the memory of her as pharaoh and so the actions of the ruling elite led to an officially controlled form of structural amnesia. Whether this can be defined as a true form of 'amnesia' (i.e. unintentional forgetting), therefore, or whether it should be seen under the umbrella of active forgetting, led by the state, is debatable. But the emphasis is on forgetting certain aspects of history rather than on destroying the evidence of them and so it may be understood as a form of passive forgetting.

It should also be noted that Assmann (1995: 366) ascribes structural amnesia primarily to oral societies based on their lack of written evidence.⁷⁴ This does not fit with the evidence discussed here,⁷⁵ suggesting that existing definitions may not be entirely suitable for use in discussions of ancient Egypt. In this regard, therefore, one must not be overly constrained by existing categories of forgetting, such as those put forward by Connerton; these should, instead, be seen as a starting point from which new understanding may develop.

⁷³ See discussion above, ch. 5.4.1. The memory of Hatshepsut as pharaoh was systematically removed by the state in the years following her death; tomb scenes such as that in TT93, however, suggest that the memory of her as a queen was not so unfavourable, although the lack of images of her as a queen on state monuments makes this theory difficult to corroborate.

⁷⁴ See above, ch. 5.2.2.

⁷⁵ While most Egyptians were, undoubtedly, illiterate (as discussed above, see ch. 2.1.4.1.), the evidence of Hatshepsut as pharaoh was recorded in literary forms, such as on temples, and the evidence discussed here from a tomb context is material rather than oral.

5.5.2. THE PREVALENCE OF EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY ROYAL ANCESTORS IN TOMB DEPICTIONS

Apart from the two depictions of Menkauhor in the Memphite region all of the depictions of royal ancestors in Eighteenth Dynasty private tombs are of New Kingdom individuals. While it is difficult to analyse this in the context of Amarna due to the fact that only one relevant picture has been identified at the site, the Theban necropolis allows for further discussion of this aspect.

Nine deceased royal individuals can be identified in these images (see app. 6); Ahmose-Inhapy, Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu, Ahmose Sipair, Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Thutmose I, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. All of these individuals lived in the late Seventeenth or Eighteenth Dynasties, but the depictions by no means cover all of the prominent royal individuals of the period. While some consorts such as Ahmose-Inhapy are included, several pharaohs such as Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV are not. It is possible to explain the absence of the later Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs by the fact that there was only a short period of time in which they could be depicted as ancestors before the end of the period included in this study.⁷⁶ Yet early kings, such as Thutmose II, have been excluded from private tomb scenes, while later kings, such as Amenhotep III, have been included.⁷⁷ One cannot, therefore, explain the choice of ancestors based simply on chronology.

⁷⁶ For example, Amenhotep I ruled at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and so there was a period of more than two-hundred years for his image to be included in tomb scenes before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In contrast, Amenhotep III ruled later in the dynasty and so only fifty years can be counted in which his image could be included in tomb scenes before the end of the dynasty.

⁷⁷ The depiction of Amenhotep III is found in TT192 which is dated to the reigns of Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten); as such it is included as a depiction of a royal ‘ancestor’ but it is possible that the depiction of Amenhotep III was created while he was still alive (see app. 6, D10T08).

One is, therefore, left with two foci for discussion; the first is the failure to include specific pharaohs such as Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV, and the second is the prevalence of Eighteenth Dynasty individuals in the depictions.

5.5.2.1. KINGLISTS

Thutmose III's kinglist at Karnak provides a good example of the perceived need for legitimisation via the ancestors of the king. It lists the kings who have gone before him, emphasising his place as the true heir and next in line to the throne.⁷⁸ Kinglists were, therefore, used in royal contexts as a tool of legitimisation, presenting the king to both the gods and man as the rightful pharaoh.

Private kinglists are not found in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb decoration, only becoming a feature in the Nineteenth Dynasty although even then only rarely.⁷⁹ The only possible correlation in the Eighteenth Dynasty is found in TT78 (F09T02) which dates from the reign of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III; here, four cartouches, of Thutmose III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III, are included in a scene of the weighing of the heart (Bouriant 1891: pl. v). These are the four most recent pharaohs and it is likely that the tomb owner chose them for this reason, although why he only included four cartouches is not certain. Possibly it was due to aesthetic reasons, or it may be that the owner chose to include

⁷⁸ This list does not include Thutmose's Eighteenth Dynasty predecessors who are, instead, allocated shrines in the peristyle court of the Temple of Amun; Thutmose III included a shrine here to himself which emphasised his connection to the others and his role as the next legitimate king in a long line. A text describes 'naos shrines ... so that the statues of [my majesty] may proceed to it together with the statues of my fathers, the kings of Lower Egypt' (D. Redford 1986: 34). See also Urk. IV: 168-169.

⁷⁹ See, for example, TT2 (*LD iii*: 2[a]), TT19 (Champollion 1845: pl. clxxxiv[2]), TT C7 (Champollion 1844: 517-518).

the kings in whose reigns he had lived.⁸⁰ A further suggestion, made by D. Redford (1986: 41), is that it may be understood as being ‘an early example of the image of Thutmose III transformed into a sort of dynastic ancestor’. If this is the case then it seems that the owner of TT78, Horemheb, chose to include the king directly prior to those in whose reign he lived to represent an ‘ancestor’ of those kings in whose reign his own tomb was built.⁸¹

Perhaps then the prevalence of Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs in private tombs at this time can be seen in a similar light; recent kings were chosen as the ‘ancestor’ of the current ruler and so depicted in private tombs. These individuals were deceased and, as such, were accorded the position and respect of a royal ancestor, but they were not so far removed in time so as to have become disconnected from the present king in the minds of the people. An example is found in TT89, which is dated to the reign of Amenhotep III but includes a depiction of Thutmose III (D09T04). Along with Hatshepsut,⁸² Thutmose III is would have been the first king who would have survived in the living memory of the community at the time of Amenhotep III. Perhaps, therefore, this depiction should be seen as representing the earliest king to whom the tomb owner, and the community in which he lived, had any real kind of connection. The kings prior to Thutmose III were simply a part of history, out of actual experience; Thutmose III provided the first real anchor from which the legitimate king descended.

⁸⁰ Kampp (1996: 316) dates the owner’s adult life (and offices) to the reigns of Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III but suggests that the owner was born in the reign of Thutmose III. Porter and Moss (PM I.I: 152) also include the reign of Thutmose III in the tomb’s dating, which D. Redford (1986: 41) agrees with when he comments that this king’s cartouche may have been included ‘simply because Horemheb had been born during his reign’.

⁸¹ Assuming that TT78 was built in the reigns of Amenhotep II-III, Thutmose III would have been the last king prior to this period. This does not preclude the tomb owner, Horemheb, having been alive for at least some of Thutmose III’s reign, but his tomb was built after the king’s death.

⁸² As has already been discussed, the inclusion of Hatshepsut as a ‘royal ancestor’ was a contentious issue and so her absence is not unexpected.

5.5.2.2. ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS AND TEMPLES

Yet this does not fully explain the choice of who to include or exclude from tomb depictions. Not all of the kings depicted were from recent memory, for example the depiction of Amenhotep I in TT255 (D14T12). This tomb was built at the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and so is considerably later than the reign of Amenhotep I. As has already been discussed, this tomb contains two scenes which mirror each other, one of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari before Osiris and one of Horemheb and Mutnedjemet before Anubis. Here it cannot be suggested that Amenhotep I was the most accessible royal ancestor, with regards being a part of recent memory, and so another reason must be sought for his presence.

In this case Amenhotep I's position as a key cultic figure at Thebes is important. While Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari were not accessible in living memory their cults ensured that they remained an important part of the cultural memory of local society.⁸³ Alongside memorial temples,⁸⁴ Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari had shrines dedicated to them⁸⁵ which were, in all likelihood, more accessible to members of the community than the grand memorial estates.⁸⁶ Furthermore, festival processions sometimes included an oracle of Amenhotep I (Černý 1927);⁸⁷ this statue was carried by priests and would have had questions or arguments presented to him. He would then pass judgement by 'nodding' his head.

⁸³ See ch. 3.3.2, for discussion of the cults of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. See also Černý (1927), McDowell (1992), Hollender (2009).

⁸⁴ *Mn-ist*, for example, is thought to be a temple connected with Ahmose-Nefertari (see ch. 4.3.1.2 for further discussion of the identification of this temple).

⁸⁵ El Shazly (2008: 383-405) provides a detailed discussion of the various shrines dedicated to the couple at Deir el-Medina. It should, however, be noted that the evidence cited dates primarily from the Nineteenth Dynasty and beyond. Moore (1994: 1-18) also discusses the Eighteenth Dynasty evidence for the cult of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, suggesting (1994: 17-18) that the first evidence of a popular cult, the stela of Parennefer (British Museum EA 1347) dates to the very end of the dynasty.

⁸⁶ The main memorial estates at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty are listed by Haring (1997: 419-422)

⁸⁷ Oracles have already been discussed, see ch. 4.4.

Through this members of the community were able to interact directly with an image of the king, thus strengthening their connection to him.

Taking into consideration the memorial temples that existed in Thebes in the period, perhaps a second explanation should be added for the inclusion of certain royal individuals in private tomb decoration and the non-inclusion of others; the existence of a functioning memorial estate or cult in the area. There are some anomalies to this such as Nebhepetra Mentuhotep, who had a memorial cult at Deir el-Bahri but does not appear in any of the tomb depictions in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the prominence of Eighteenth Dynasty royal figures correlates with the predominance of Eighteenth Dynasty royal memorial temples in western Thebes. Royal individuals, therefore, fell out of memory when there was no longer a functioning site of memory such as a memorial temple or shrine. Those pharaohs whose memorial cults were most active, or whose monuments were uppermost in the minds of the people, received the most attention, while others took a back seat. Furthermore, the depictions of Menkauhor at Saqqara (D00M13, D00M14) may also be explained by a site of memory in the Memphite region which kept alive the memory of this individual, although this cannot be confirmed.⁸⁸

Again, the close connection of forgetting and remembering is clear; while those individuals who had functioning lieux de mémoire remained in the cultural memory of the community, those who did not gradually fell out of memory, thus making way for new ones. This process of forgetting, therefore, also emphasises the key role of active remembering in retaining knowledge of royal ancestors, and in encouraging their inclusion in other contexts such as tomb depictions.

⁸⁸ See ch. 3.5 for further discussion of this issue.

5.5.3. THE INCORRECT DESIGNATION OF TT60 TO QUEEN SOBEKNEFERU (G00T01, G00T02)

A further demonstration of the important connection between remembering and forgetting can be found two graffiti in TT60 that attribute the tomb to Queen Sobekneferu, one of which reads:

Coming of the scribe [... to see?] this tomb [...] of Sobeknefer[u]. He found it like heaven in its interior (G00T01).⁸⁹

As has already been noted, this tomb belongs, in fact, to a vizier of Senwosret I, Antefoker. These two graffiti ‘forget’ the correct ownership of the tomb and instead create a false memory of its origins.⁹⁰ Here forgetting is not left as an absence of memory; instead the gap is filled by incorrect information. And while the act of forgetting does not here relate to a royal figure – it is, instead, the act of misremembering that is strictly relevant – it is an important example as it allows evaluation of the key interaction of remembering and forgetting; forgetting must not be viewed only as a negative absence of memory but can, instead, be a vital constituent in the creation of new memories. In this case the ‘memory’ of Sobekneferu was made possible by the forgetting of the original, and factually correct, memory. Simon Price (2012: 27) writes that ‘analysis of the process of constructing memories needs to be accompanied by analysis of its counterpart, forgetting’,⁹¹ thus echoing A. Assmann’s writing

⁸⁹ See also G00T02 which includes a similar text.

⁹⁰ The possibility that the text attributes the tomb ‘to the time of Sobekneferu’ is noted above, see ch. 2.4.1, but the implication is that the tomb is connected with the queen. Furthermore, the suggestion that the tomb is from the time of Sobekneferu is also wrong as it dates to the reign of Senwosret I.

⁹¹ Anagnostu (1990: 26) asks the important question ‘what kind of alternative knowledge is activated to “fill the void” of “forgotten” memories?’ This further emphasizes the importance of memory to fill the spaces left by forgetting.

on the subject with which this chapter began. Price (2012: 27) goes on to suggest that forgetting 'serves pressing social needs'. It may be difficult to extract the 'pressing social needs' inherent in the act of forgetting detailed above, but perhaps it should be addressed in a more general context; the act of forgetting allowed for memories of specific royal ancestors to remain strong, and to take precedence over those whose memory was considered less vital.

5.6. CONCLUSION

While structures of forgetting are helpful to guide debate, one must not be constrained by them. The study of collective forms of forgetting is a relatively new field, and one which is still being shaped. Existing scholarship cannot cover all possibilities and so, in order to understand the phenomenon more fully, it is important to challenge existing understanding and develop new ways of interpreting the evidence. In this study Connerton's forms of forgetting have been used as a starting point, and to help direct discussion. But these in no way incorporate all aspects of the debate. For example, as has been discussed, structural amnesia, as defined by Connerton, has very definite and narrow boundaries; new forms must then be defined to envelop further, related forms of forgetting.

5.6.1. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE FORGETTING

Forgetting has been identified as both a passive and an active phenomenon in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. The destruction of images of royal ancestors, seen in private tombs and on state monuments, represents forgetting as a deliberate process, while the failure to include specific individuals in private tomb depictions suggests that forgetting may have existed in a less intentional way. This chapter has also highlighted the connection between active and

passive forgetting. While the destruction of royal tombs may be interpreted as an active form of forgetting, perhaps the actions of tomb robbers can be attributed to the ‘falling out of memory’ of the knowledge of these sites as royal memorials, a far more passive process. In another example, the exclusion of certain ancestors from Eighteenth Dynasty private tomb scenes, while in itself passive, may be linked with the deliberate intention of the state to remove these individuals from the memory of the community.

The dichotomy between active and passive forgetting should not, therefore, be seen as absolute. While providing a helpful framework for discussion, it is important to acknowledge the interrelation of the two, and to analyse how each may have supported the other.

5.6.2. FORGETTING AND REMEMBERING

Furthermore, forgetting and remembering are closely intertwined, working together in the formation of memory. An example of this is the graffiti in TT60; the correct memory of this site, as the tomb of Antefoker built in the reign of Senwosret I, was forgotten in favour of a new memory linking the tomb with Sobekneferu. The act of forgetting some things allowed for the creation of new, and possibly more useful, memories. Similarly, while the memory of Hatshepsut as pharaoh was erased, the memory of her as a queen was not, as seen in tomb TT93; her role as a queen still had a use in society while her kingship did not.

Forgetting, therefore, is not a singular phenomenon. It is a multi-faceted process which can take many different forms, both passive and active. Rather than being viewed as the opposing

force to that of memory it should, instead, be understood as a complementary process;⁹² remembering and forgetting constitute two sides of the same coin and without one the other would struggle. This is demonstrated most clearly in the alteration of the cartouche in TT345; through forgetting one ruler and replacing their name with another, one version of the past is given precedence over another and becomes part of the cultural memory of the group.⁹³ As Levene (2012: 217) notes, ‘societies shape stories about their history through selectivity, a process of forgetting as well as one of remembering: for without such forgetfulness, no story could be shaped at all’.

While forgetting may be difficult to identify, due to its nature as the absence of memory, its traces may be found particularly in its connection with remembering. Plundered tombs retain the name of the original owner, replaced cartouches show traces of damage, and absent statues in processions contrast with those that are included. One may, therefore, examine memory and forgetting together, analysing their interactions and the ways in which one supported, and undermined, the other.

⁹² Brockmeier (2002: 22) describes the two concepts of remembering and forgetting as relating to each other ‘like the two Janus faces pertaining to one constructive process in which knowledge and experience past, present and anticipated are organized’.

⁹³ The ‘group’ here refers to those who visit the tomb and engage with the inscriptions.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

6.1. MEMORY IN EGYPTIAN CULTURE

6.1.1. VARIATIONS AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD OF THE EVIDENCE

The evidence presented in this study includes commemoration of kings whose reigns stretch from the Third to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The earliest king is Djoser, for whom there are multiple mentions in graffiti at his Saqqara pyramid complex. Other Old Kingdom Kings, such as Sneferu and Sahura are also found in the corpus, again with the evidence focused at their memorial sites in the Memphite region. There is a notable lack of royal ancestors from the Middle Kingdom, the only exception being the misguided graffiti to Queen Sobekneferu in TT60.¹ Figures from the New Kingdom are again plentiful, stretching from Ahmose at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty until the end of the period in question.

Although the focus of this study is on only three sites, a clear geographic variation can be seen, in which kings from specific periods are focused at specific sites; Old Kingdom kings are commemorated exclusively in the Memphite region, while New Kingdom royal ancestors are almost entirely found in the Theban region, with one mention at Amarna.²

This uneven spread is probably due to the royal memorials found at each site. The pyramids and memorial complexes of Old Kingdom kings are found predominantly in the necropoleis

¹ Graffiti at the pyramid structure of Senwosret III have also been recorded but, as discussed in the second chapter of this study (ch. 2.2), have not been included in this study due to a lack of published evidence (Navrátilová (2006) discusses these graffiti but does not give details on most of them).

² While Amarna has been included in this study so as to cover the three main cities in the Eighteenth Dynasty, it has given only one piece of evidence.

close to Memphis, with no official sites relating to these individuals at Thebes. The memory of kings of the Old Kingdom and any cultic activity relating to them was retained, therefore, in the monuments in the Memphite region.

Similarly, the Theban memorial temples belonged mainly to kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, with the temple of Nebhepetra-Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty being the most notable exception.³ Memorial cults linked with these temples were active in the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁴ and so, in this case, both the monuments and ritual activity relating to New Kingdom kings was focused at Thebes. One notable exception is the pyramid and temple of Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which is located at Abydos (alongside tombs of early kings).⁵ Ahmose is rarely attested in the evidence in this study;⁶ this is probably because activity and memory relating to his cult was focused at Abydos where his memorial temple was situated, an idea which is supported by the evidence listed by Harvey at the site.⁷ Furthermore, the lack of evidence of cultural memory relating to royal ancestors at Amarna can be explained by the absence of royal memorial structures or cults there. Private tombs scenes show the living king but, with the exception of D10A09, do not depict royal ancestors. The focus at this site was on the living king and his family and this emphasis is reflected in the lack of memory of past kings in the evidence.

³ See PM II: 381-399 for references.

⁴ See ch. 4 of this study for discussion of memorial cults.

⁵ Harvey (1998) has discussed the cult relating to this king in that region, listing the various personal titles which relate to his cult dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty and later. Of fifteen likely occurrences of personal titles relating to the memorial cult of Ahmose at Abydos, Harvey (1998: app. 1) lists eight as probably dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The rest date to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Titles include *w^cb*, *r-ḥry* and *imy-r pr*.

⁶ The sole example is in a list of titles relating to several kings (T05T05); see app. 12 for discussion of whether this title relates to a memorial cult or to service of the living king.

⁷ Further examination of private memory at Abydos would, perhaps, allow further support for this theory, although such evidence has not been forthcoming.

The difference in the types of material evidence that has been found at Thebes and Memphis is also notable.⁸ The majority of evidence in the Memphite region is graffiti, while in Thebes it focuses around personal titles and tomb depictions. This may be partially due to the preservation of evidence; very few Eighteenth Dynasty tombs have survived in good condition in the Memphite area and so the types of evidence found in these structures (usually tomb depictions and biographies of personal titles) are less readily accessible. The images of Menkauhor from this region show that tomb depictions relating to kings of the Old Kingdom did exist there, and lead to the question of how common they actually were. But the lack of evidence makes it difficult draw a firm comparison between the tomb depictions found at Thebes and those in the Memphite region.

The high amount of graffiti on royal monuments in the Memphite region, however, has not been replicated at Thebes in this period.⁹ This is probably because the royal monuments close to Memphis belonged, as has been mentioned, to Old Kingdom kings. By the Eighteenth Dynasty, therefore, these monuments were probably not fully functioning memorial complexes and, consequently, were accessible to members of the public who may have visited them on days out or to study them.¹⁰ On these visits it was easy to add one's own graffiti to the monument. In contrast, at Thebes, the royal memorial complexes were functioning cults of recent kings, and so access was more closely controlled.¹¹ The leaving of graffiti by visitors was, therefore, not possible in the same way that it was at Memphis.

⁸ Due to there being only one piece of evidence at Amarna, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the most frequent type of evidence there.

⁹ There is some Theban graffiti included in the evidence for this period, but it appears in private tombs (for example, TT60, TT504).

¹⁰ See ch. 2, in particular 2.1.3, of this study for more on the nature of the graffiti.

¹¹ See Bommas' discussion of access to temples at Elephantine, suggesting that members of the public were allowed into the *wsh.t hb.yt* to witness certain events (Bommas 2000: 211). Spencer (1984: 64) also suggests that this area of the temple was open to members of the public at specific times. Griffin (2007: 81), however, disagrees, arguing that individuals outside of ritual staff were not given access to the temple at any time.

This is not to say that the monuments of Old Kingdom kings in the Memphite region were not revered in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The private graffiti found on the monuments show wonder and awe at the beauty of the sites, and a reverence for the kings who built them.¹² The usual questions regarding how far these texts represented real views and to what extent they were formulaic apply here, but it seems that the monuments were viewed by many with at least a degree of reverence. Royal texts at Old Kingdom royal memorials show that the sites had symbolic importance; kings of the New Kingdom linked themselves with these monuments by leaving written evidence. An example is the Sphinx stela of Amenhotep II which records his restoration of the monument and his own personal link to the site (Lichtheim 1976: 39-43).¹³ The Sphinx was recognised as an ancient monument, and Amenhotep's use of the site for his own stela shows that Eighteenth Dynasty kings recognised the importance of linking themselves with sites of Old Kingdom royal power; Baines (1994: 24) notes, for example, that these stelae provided 'legitimation by reference to great monuments of antiquity'.¹⁴ The monuments were, therefore, felt to be historically and symbolically important both to royal and non-royal visitors. Their relevance transcended multiple levels of Egyptian society, in so far as the evidence available can attest to.

Temples that were currently functional were not, however, immune to graffiti while they were in service; the more than three-hundred graffiti on the roof of the Khonsu temple at Karnak from the late New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period show that those who were employed to

¹² For example G02M03, G05M07.

¹³ See, in particular, ch. 2.3.6.

¹⁴ He goes on to write (1994: 25) that, through activities such as constructing stelae, 'kings who as yet could display few achievements of their own were able to draw on a wealth of other meanings' in their quest to legitimise their rule.

work in the cults were often still keen to leave their mark.¹⁵ The practice of leaving graffiti seems to have been less common, however, at active cult centres than at the Old Kingdom sites where access was freer and the function of the site had changed.

The content of the graffiti was also different at the Khonsu temple; a large proportion here consisted of a pair of feet, sometimes alongside a text giving the name and titles of the owner, with an emphasis on retaining the name and, on occasion, the genealogy of the graffitist.¹⁶ The graffiti on the royal monuments of past kings at Thebes and Memphis were almost solely textual.¹⁷ Similar to the Khonsu temple examples, they often included the name of the owner, and some of the texts give offering formulae,¹⁸ but their focus was usually on paying homage to the beauty and wonder of the site, a sentiment that is absent from the graffiti on the Khonsu temple roof. This suggests those who marked the Khonsu temple roof had a different motivation to those who visited ancient royal monuments; the people who graffitied the monuments of past kings were visitors to a historical site, and had chosen to leave a mark of their visit, showing their wonder and linking themselves to great men of the past. Doing this may have created a sense of ownership of the site; this ownership was created through the act of leaving graffiti.¹⁹ The staff at the Khonsu temple, in contrast, frequented the site and were

¹⁵ See Jacquet-Gordon (2003), who also notes graffiti on the temple of Medinet Habu and at Philae although it is possible that these were written by visitors to the site instead of by members of the temple staff (Jacquet-Gordon 2003: 3).

¹⁶ Jacquet-Gordon (2003: 3) notes that approximately two-thirds of the graffiti comprise one or more pairs of feet with or without accompanying text, while the other third consist of an image of a person or an object. Many of the graffiti which include a pair of feet simply give the name and title of the owner (see, for example, Jacquet-Gordon (2003: 13[7], 19[20])), sometimes also including his genealogy (Jacquet-Gordon 2003: 26[44]). Some are, however, more elaborate; a small number include an offering formula or an appeal to the gods (Jacquet-Gordon 2003: 14[8], 57[152]), while others threaten curses on anyone who may be tempted to erase the graffiti (Jacquet-Gordon (2003: 22[32])).

¹⁷ Note the few pictorial examples on the monument of Sneferu which were excluded from the study. A small number of pictorial graffiti can also be found in TT60 (see the original publication of the tomb (Davies et al. 1920) and Ragazzoli (2013: 29-47) although the dates are uncertain and there is no clear link with the supposed royal 'owner' of the tomb).

¹⁸ See, for example, G00T25.

¹⁹ See chs. 2.1.2, 2.5.2 for discussion of graffiti creating a sense of ownership of a site. Comparisons can be found in other cultures, for example the military graffiti at Dura-Europos (see Baird 2011: 56-58).

familiar with it; as such, they marked the temple roof not as visitors but as residents. They were stating their existing ownership of the site and, in doing so, ensuring that their name lasted forever.

It should not be assumed, however, that all of the monuments to kings of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were inactive in the New Kingdom. Evidence from the Nineteenth Dynasty suggests that cults of kings of the distant past were not entirely abandoned in this period; the title of Tjuneroy, whose tomb is at Saqqara, as *hry-hb* of past kings in the reign of Ramesses II evidences the existence of a cult for royal ancestors.²⁰ This shows that royal figures from the Old and Middle Kingdoms were remembered alongside those of the more recent past in New Kingdom cultic activity. There is, however, no evidence that the memorial complexes of specific kings were used in these; Tjuneroy's title relates to a cult of collective royal ancestors which probably functioned in one of the main temples at Memphis rather than being carried out in the individual temples of each past king.

It is also uncertain if these cults were active in the Eighteenth Dynasty or if they were an invention of the Ramesside Period,²¹ perhaps related to the reinvigoration of royal ancestor cults under Ramesses II. Ramesses II and his son, Khaemwase, for example, restored the monuments of Old Kingdom kings and so a revival of cultic activity relating to them, and to all royal ancestors, seems likely.²² The location of the memorial temples of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut next to that of Nebhepetra-Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri (PM II: 340-400),

²⁰ Tjuneroy's tomb contains a kinglist which lists the kings from the First Dynasty to Ramesses II, in whose reign he lived (Martin 1991: 123). D. Redford (1986: 21-22) discusses a ritual text which is written in the tomb; this text calls the ritual a '[performance of the *Htp-di-nsw* for the ki]ngs of Upper and Lower Egypt and for Osiris, through the agency of King Usermare Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses Maiamun', thus linking the kings of the past with the present king, Ramesses II.

²¹ As noted above, Tjuneroy lived in the reign of Ramesses II and so, while providing evidence that such cults were active in the New Kingdom, he does not prove their existence in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

²² See Snape (2011) who discusses the role of Khaemwase in detail.

however, suggests that there was also a recognition of the cultic centres of royal ancestors at Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty.²³ Furthermore, royal ancestors were also commemorated at state monuments in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for example in the kinglist of Thutmose III at Karnak, but to what extent these ideas permeated the lower levels of society and how far these kinglists translated into active cults in that period is less sure. The private evidence discussed here, particularly graffiti, as well as the absence of evidence at Amarna, suggests that royal memorial complexes played an important role in retaining the memory of past kings in the regions in which they stood as *lieux de mémoire*.

6.1.2. THE BREADTH OF INVOLVEMENT IN MEMORY BY SOCIETY

When discussing memory one must evaluate the degree to which it was accessible to different social groups. The limitations of the study are looked at in more detail below; this section will, however, look at how accessible each of the main forms of evidence used in this study may have been to different levels of society.

6.1.2.1. WRITING

Writing is possibly the most divisive category of evidence discussed in this study in terms of its accessibility to different social groups. In order to access the full meaning behind it one must be literate to at least some degree. In this sense, the graffiti looked at in the first chapter cannot be seen as representative of Egyptian society; it represents only those who had the ability to leave written commemorations. Perhaps, to a lesser degree it represents those who

²³ See Roth (2005: 147-148), who links the position, architecture and festival activity of the temple of Hatshepsut to a desire to legitimise her reign through her ancestor. Sullivan (2008: 11) also notes that the temples at Deir el-Bahri acted as a focal point for the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, which also visited the memorial temples of other royal ancestors.

were able to understand its meaning, even if some of those people were not capable of leaving their own texts.²⁴

Yet texts can have meaning for a wider section of society than just those who are able to read them. The Egyptian language was pictorial; as such it could hold meaning for non-literate members of society through some of the signs and sign combinations, even if the words themselves could not be deciphered. Furthermore, other symbols could enhance the meaning for the non-literate; cartouches, for example, were a recognisable sign. They encircled the name of the king and, in doing so, were strongly symbolic.²⁵ Surely it is reasonable to suggest that non-literate members of society may have understood the meaning of the cartouche (or attached their own meaning to it, separate from the 'official' understanding of the sign). Perhaps they even recognised the names of certain kings; those who visited the Step Pyramid of Djoser, for example, may have come to recognise his name encircled by a cartouche.

Furthermore, the simple existence of graffiti on monuments could act to change the meaning of them, which could be accessed by literate and non-literate alike. They may have made the site seem more accessible, inviting visitors in by showing that others had been there before. Or maybe they demonstrated that the site was important to previous visitors, even if the actual texts could not be read by everyone. Or perhaps they marked it as a place of public ownership, where ordinary people came into contact with great men of the past on their own terms. Furthermore, the act of making graffiti, both to the author and to all others who were present at the time, was itself a symbolic act, regardless of what the text actually said. What these graffiti meant to visitors, away from their literal meaning, cannot be known for certain, but to

²⁴ See, for example, Baines (1983: 584) for discussion of the varying degrees of literacy and semi-literacy.

²⁵ David (1998: 219), for example, writes that the cartouche emphasised the role of the king as the 'all powerful ruler of everything that the sun encircled'. Baines (1994: 9) links the cartouche with both protection and the solar cycle, again emphasising its symbolic function.

suggest that they had no meaning except to those who could read them literally is to underestimate the power of text and its role not only as literature but as an object.²⁶

6.1.2.2. DEPICTIONS

Designated parts of tombs were, by nature, accessible to the public. Decorated tomb halls included depictions and texts, and invited visitors to enter. As such they welcomed visitors and encouraged them to be involved in the scenes around them. When, and how often, these tombs were visited in actuality is less certain. Texts certainly envisage regular visits by appointed individuals and encourage as many people as possible to enter. But evidence of the regularity of visits is not forthcoming. Festivals, such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, seem to have involved visits to family tombs,²⁷ but again if this always happened or if it was simply the ideal cannot be ascertained for certain. Graffiti, such as that found in TT60, show that members of the public did visit private tombs, but this tomb may have been unusual in its popularity and one cannot assume that others enjoyed the same level of tourism (Ragazzoli 2013: 22-23). It is also possible that artisans, and perhaps individuals who were commissioning their own tombs, visited existing tombs and used them as inspiration for new structures.²⁸ If this were the case then they would have carefully examined the scenes, but

²⁶ The ways in which texts can be interpreted by individuals of differing levels of literacy is discussed in more detail by Bryan (1996) and Der Manuelian (1999: 285), who look at the interplay of texts and images. Although the graffiti discussed in this chapter are not accompanied by images, it is important to look at the context of the text when analysing their potential meaning, and not simply at the words that have been written. The importance of graffiti for creating ownership has already been addressed (see above, chs. 6.1.1., 2.1.2., 2.5.2.).

²⁷ See, for example, the scene of the daughters of the deceased offering bouquets to the tomb owner and his wife as part of the festival in TT98 (Fakhry 1934: pl. ii).

²⁸ See chs. 3.1.3 and 3.2.5. Wachsmann (1987: 12) suggests that older tombs may have been used as inspiration for new structures, a theory that Davies (1902: 36-37) agrees with based on evidence from the Late Period. The idea that decoration may have been copied from one tomb to another is supported by Der Manuelian (1993: 28), although he prefers the suggestion that decoration was copied from contemporary tombs rather than older ones. Both ideas would have supported the continuation of memory contained in the tomb decoration, although Der Manuelian's emphasis on contemporary tombs may be more relevant to the period in question, when depictions

these visits would have been limited to skilled artisans and those who could afford their own, decorated, monuments; this excludes lower social groups from the discussion.

Certainly tomb depictions were accessible to anyone who entered the tomb hall or chapel, be these occasional visitors, members of the tomb owner's memorial cult or artisans examining the monument for future inspiration. It is, however, debatable how easily 'readable' the images were to the different visitors. It is probable that most repeat visitors to tombs were family or members of the memorial cult and so they would have been familiar with the decoration, and possibly had at least some understanding of the symbolism of the scenes. But if the occasional visitor to a tomb would have understood the scenes is less certain, with their level of understanding possibly being affected by their reason for visiting; artisans who visited multiple tombs and decorated others may have had a better understanding than 'tourists' who went to look at a tomb because of its reputation as being the burial site of a known individual or a place of beauty.²⁹

6.1.2.3. RITUAL

The third category discussed is ritual and active remembrance. There are two elements to this; the holding of titles, and participation in public festivals. Often the more elite members of society held official titles,³⁰ with others being held by prominent members of the

of kings in private tombs were only beginning to come into fashion and so would not have been found in much older tombs.

²⁹ TT60, for example, contains graffiti from people who appear to have visited to see the beauty of the monument, as well as individuals who believed that it connected with Queen Sobekneferu (see G00T01, G00T02).

³⁰ A well known example in the later New Kingdom is prince Khaemwase, a son of Ramesses II, who held the illustrious title of *sm* in the cult of Ptah at Memphis (Snape 2011: 465, 472).

community.³¹ It is possible that some of the less prestigious titles, such as *wꜥb*, were held by ordinary members of the community, who were also employed in other areas of society by way of the phyle system.³² Yet the lower cultic titles also seem to have been held in conjunction with other, skilled, roles such as craftsmen or scribes and so likely still required some social standing (Haring 1997: 223-224).³³ The holding of titles, therefore, probably demanded at least some social status and possibly a level of education to be able to carry out the duties relating to it. As such, lower levels of society were, again, excluded.

Festivals, however, were arguably the most inclusive lieux de mémoire; public events in which divine and royal figures were carried in procession were at least partially accessible to members of the public, regardless of their social status.³⁴ There was less symbolism to ‘decode’ than for texts and depictions as the statue of the king was a central part of the event, and so his importance was more readily available to spectators. Oracle processions, evidenced in the Ramesside Period, also lent a new element to festivals; spectators could not only watch the procession and participate as an audience member, but could interact directly with the oracle through a question.³⁵ Access to the oracle, however, may have been controlled to some degree and so one should not assume free access to the statue.³⁶ Most royal oracles for which

³¹ This is evidenced by some individuals noted in the fourth chapter of this study; Senmen, for example, held five titles relating to royal memorial cults (T07T37-T07T41).

³² See Haring (1997: 222-223) and Shafer (1998: 15) for discussion of the phyle system, and the capacity to hold a title such as *wꜥb* alongside other jobs.

³³ Haring does, however, urge caution when looking at some combinations; he suggests, for example, that the combination of *wꜥb* and *sš* may have simply reflected the fact that the individuals ‘exercised their scribal duties while attending the offering cult’ (Haring 1997: 223).

³⁴ See ch. 4.4 and Accetta (2013: 19).

³⁵ Examples of these processions can be found for the cult of Amenhotep I at Thebes, where a statue of the king was carried in procession and responded to questions put forward by members of the community through a nod of the head. Oracles are discussed briefly in ch. 4.4.

³⁶ Accetta (2013: 19) notes that some public access to festivals was important to provide witnesses to events. McDowell (1990: 113-114), however, qualifies this, suggesting that there was probably at least some formal nature to the proceedings, with the oracle being used at *knbt*-sessions or in festivals specifically planned for oracular consultation. She does, however, note the lack of firm evidence in this matter.

evidence exists were in the Theban area and related to Amenhotep I.³⁷ It is, however, difficult to be sure whether oracles of royal ancestors were a feature of Egyptian society more generally or if they were, instead, specifically linked with the cults of certain kings.

Festivals, however, were the most widely accessible markers of memory of deceased kings in Egyptian society. They clearly stated the importance of royal ancestors to any person who attended the event. Outside of these festivals, the memorial temples themselves stood as reminders of the kings whose festivals were celebrated sporadically, while tomb depictions were inspired by the statues seen in the processions³⁸ and perhaps even graffiti were the results of visits inspired by similar events. While some forms of evidence, therefore, may have been more accessible than others, they all interacted with each other, connected by the society that they represented.

6.1.2.4. MEMORY AS AN ACCESSIBLE RESOURCE

Although, therefore, different forms of evidence were available in different ways to different social groups, they were accessible at least partly to a wide section of society and not only to those who had access to the literal meanings and official symbols. It is, however, important, to be aware of the different levels of interpretation that may have been accessed by different visitors; some of these mirrored official ideas while others may have been entirely individual. Not all levels of access would have followed the lines intended by the tomb owner or

³⁷ See, for example, Černý (1927: fig. 14). An exception to this is the oracle of Ahmose which was found at Abydos, the site of his memorial estate (Harvey 1998: 121-122); the evidence for the oracle cult of Ahmose comes primarily from a stela dated to the reign of Ramesses II, which makes it difficult to be certain if the oracle cult was active in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

³⁸ Again, the lack of tomb depictions at Amarna supports this theory; the lack of festivals of royal ancestors may have led to a dearth in depictions of past kings at the site.

graffitist, or by the organisers of festivals, but could be understood and used by individuals and groups based on their own requirements and social context.

While it is not possible to understand every possible interpretation of the evidence, it is important to be aware that variations of understanding existed; conclusions must, therefore, be seen as representative but not all encompassing. It is also important to be aware that the full extent to which the evidence was accessible cannot be known, but that its relevance should not be confined simply to those who created it, but to all those who experienced it from that point on.

6.2. MEMORY AND STATE LEGITIMATION; THE KING WHO NEVER DIES

A connection has been drawn, throughout this study, between the memory of royal ancestors and the legitimization of the state. As noted in the introduction, the legitimization of the current regime through links with rulers of the past can be found in many cultures, both ancient and modern; works such as that of Morrissey (2001) which looked the linking of French rulers to Charlemagne, demonstrate the usefulness of this approach in cultures close to the present day, while Price's study of Roman imperial cults (1984), in contrast, takes the reader back to the ancient world.

The state is only as powerful as its hold on the populace, and so processes are necessary to ensure the support of the population for the ruling elite.³⁹ By encouraging the development of cultural memory based around kings of the past, the state creates communal identity in which

³⁹It should also be noted that the legitimization of the royal line was also deemed important to display to the gods; it is probable that temple kinglists, such as that of Thutmose III at Karnak, were created for this reason; without the support of the divine, the king could not rule.

the king is central. This means that, instead of being a distant figure far removed from society, the king holds a role that is accessible to members of the community. Through this position the king's status, and that of the state, becomes less vulnerable and more of an underlying part of society.

This is clearly found in ancient Egyptian culture. The concept of the royal *k3* was vital to the legitimacy of the Egyptian pharaoh. Through this the essence of kingship was passed from one pharaoh to the next. Rituals such as the *sd*-festival and the Opet festival acted to renew the *k3* of the king in his life,⁴⁰ and when he died the 'essence' of eternal kingship was passed to his successor. This idea of the king 'who never dies' mirrors that found in Kantorowicz's study of medieval kingship (Kantorowicz 1997); the king is both mortal and immortal, two bodies in one person.⁴¹

This leads to two main features which have been emphasised in this study. The first is the focus on dynastic continuity; the king must show that he is the rightful successor and holder of the royal *k3*, be this because of direct descentance or because of a perceived link with great kings of the past. The second is the possibility of rejecting a ruler should they act in a way that is not in keeping with the accepted royal norm; when the king acts against the establishment he, or she, can be seen as no longer being the rightful owner of the royal *k3* and as such, may be rejected. Once the king is no longer in possession of the royal *k3*, he or she is arguably merely a mortal and, as such, is subject to mortal rules. The ways in which these two concepts were implemented will now be discussed in more detail.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Bommas (2013: 191) for discussion of the *sd*-festival, and L. Bell (1998) for discussion of the Opet festival and the rejuvenation of the royal *k3*. This concept of kingship supports that emphasised by D. Redford (1995), in which the king is seen as the 'mortal surrogate' of the god Amun (although he does note the difficulty of bringing together the idea of a 'divine deputy on earth' with that of a 'potentate with human lineage', thus leading to the conclusion that the earthly kingship was a mirror of the divine one).

⁴¹ This is discussed in more detail in ch. 1.8.1.1.

6.2.1. DYNASTIC CONTINUITY

In order to present oneself as the rightful holder of the royal *kꜣ*, the king must demonstrate that he, or she, was the legitimate heir. One way that kings did this was by emphasising their link to great kings of the past through such methods as kinglists and festivals.⁴²

One such festival was the Beautiful Festival of the Valley in which a procession of the god Amun visited the memorial temples of past kings;⁴³ here the importance of royal ancestors was emphasised, and the legitimacy of the current king through his or her connection with them was confirmed. In later periods statues of royal ancestors were included in the procession, which again demonstrates the close link between the festival and the remembrance of the predecessors of the pharaoh (Teeter 2011: 67).

Kinglists, while less readily available to the public, set out more explicitly the king as the successor of great kings of the past by listing, or depicting, the current pharaoh at the climax of a line of kings. The kinglist of Thutmose III at Karnak lists rulers of Egypt from Sneferu, seated in front of the reigning pharaoh (Prisse d'Avennes 1847: pl. i).⁴⁴ This emphasises Thutmose III as the next in a line of powerful and successful kings, emphasising his legitimacy and divine right. It should also be noted that not every king leading up to Thutmose III is included in this list, suggesting that specific kings were deliberately chosen

⁴² Another way was by burying the previous king; Aye, for example, carried out important rituals for the mummy of Tutankhamun, and recorded this in the decoration of Tutankhamun's tomb (see, for example, Steindorff (1938: 647-648, Abb. 690, pl. cxvi)). This confirmed Aye's role as the legitimate successor. Of course, whether Aye carried out these rituals in actuality, or simply recorded himself as having carried them out is unclear. One is left to wonder if the actual act was important, or simply the official record of it.

⁴³ This is discussed in chs. 3.6.1.1 and 4.4.1. See also L. Bell (1998: 137), Sullivan (2008: 11), Teeter (2011: 68).

⁴⁴ See also above, chs. 3.4.2 and 3.6.2.5.

for inclusion, presumably those who best supported the agenda of the current pharaoh (D. Redford 1986: 31-34).⁴⁵

Kings also visited monuments of their royal ancestors, for example during festivals such as the Beautiful Festival of the Valley as discussed above; this again emphasised their connection with great men of the past. Restoration inscriptions on monuments of past kings, discussed in ch. 2.3.6,⁴⁶ show the present royal elite not simply visiting the monument but restoring it to its former glory. Having ‘restored’ the site, the king then added his name to it, ensuring that visitors knew his involvement in the work there. Whether the work always involved actual restoration, or if the act of ‘restoring’ a monument often simply required adding an inscription is not clear. Sometimes the king chose to add his own monument to an existing site rather than ‘restoring’ it, as seen with the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II.⁴⁷ This suggests that adding one’s own name, thus linking the current king with a royal ancestor, and to be seen to do so in public was a key aim. These texts publically stated the special connection between the king and his predecessor, a pharaoh whose monument was visited by Egyptians, and was a place of awe and wonder.

Responses to the concept of dynastic continuity can be found in the private evidence in this study. Depictions of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley are found in private Theban tombs, for example in TT49 where the deceased is shown going to the festival.⁴⁸ This demonstrates that members of the Theban community took part in the festival; presumably, then, they were

⁴⁵ The exclusion of kings who were felt to have gone against the proper order of things can also be found, for example in the later depiction of royal statues at the Min Festival found at the Ramesseum, where the Amarna rulers and Hatshepsut are left out of the rows of statues (See Champollion (1845: pls. cxlix-cl), D. Redford (1986: 35)). See below, ch. 6.2.1.2, for more discussion of the erasure of kings who had gone against the accepted norm.

⁴⁶ The particular examples of the inscriptions of Khaemwase are noted here (see also Snape (2011)).

⁴⁷ See Lichtheim (1976: 39-43) for translation of the text, and ch. 2.3.6 for further discussion.

⁴⁸ See Davies (1933: pl. liii[c]). Other similar scenes can be found in TT69 (Campbell 1910: 93-94), and in TT79 (Hickmann 1956: pl. xliii).

familiar with the route of the main procession and its emphasis on the kings of the past, although this is not explicitly stated in the evidence. Furthermore, while lines of kings do not appear in private tombs before the Nineteenth Dynasty, some awareness of dynastic connection is evident. One example of this is the depiction of New Year gifts to Amenhotep II in TTT93;⁴⁹ here statues of Amenhotep II are carried along with statues of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut as royal consort. This highlights the place of Amenhotep II as the legitimate heir of Thutmose I, a revered royal ancestor. Although Hatshepsut was not included in kinglists as a king, her role as a queen and royal consort was accepted and so she is also included in the scene as an ancestor of Amenhotep II. Furthermore, depictions that mirror a scene of the current king alongside one of the past also emphasise this link between the ruling pharaoh and his ancestors.⁵⁰

6.2.1.2. THE KING AS MORTAL, AND WHO CAN BE REJECTED

The other side of the coin is the treatment of a king who has been judged to have gone against the order of things, and who can no longer claim to be the legitimate and true pharaoh. Evidence relating to this has been looked at in the fifth chapter of this study. For example, the memory of Hatshepsut was removed from royal monuments, an act that appears to have been replicated in private contexts such as the alteration to a cartouche in TT345.⁵¹ Her depiction as a ‘great royal wife’ in TT93⁵² supports the theory that it was not the individual, but her affront to *m3ʿt*, that was erased; while her memory as king was removed, Hatshepsut as a queen and consort was included in this tomb scene. It was, therefore, her assumption of kingship that was rejected, a rejection that was made possible by the separation of Hatshepsut

⁴⁹ D07T03. See ch. 3.3.3.2.

⁵⁰ An example is D14T12 which shows Horemheb mirrored against Amenhotep I. See also ch. 3.6.2.

⁵¹ F06T01. See ch. 5.4.1.

⁵² D07T03. See ch. 5.5.1.

as the immortal holder of the royal *k3* and Hatshepsut as a mortal being. Similar can be seen in the treatment of the memory of Akhenaten.⁵³

This separation of the person and the role is a key concept; Kantorowicz emphasises the separation of the two bodies of the king,⁵⁴ one of which is royal, divine and immortal, and the other of which is mortal and individual. It was the immortal body that was a requirement of the ruler, and retaining this demanded that the king abide by the accepted ‘laws’ of kingship. Rejecting kings that had gone against the accepted order was not a contradiction of the concept of the eternal king as the holder of the royal *k3*, but a recognition that the king was not the true and legitimate heir and, as such, was no more the holder of the royal *k3* than any other Egyptian; he, or she, was a pretender.

6.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE CURRENT STUDY

Any study encounters limitations, and this one is no exception. It is important to understand what these limitations are in order to effectively draw conclusions and to maximise the relevance of the work done here for future scholars.

6.3.1. CHRONOLOGICAL

A key limitation is that of chronology. This study relates specifically to society in the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. As such, it does not take into account developments of the later New Kingdom or the succeeding periods of Egyptian history in which, at times, archaism and

⁵³ See ch. 5.4.2.

⁵⁴ See introduction, ch. 1.8.1.1 for more on this theory.

ancestor worship was highly prevalent. Whilst acknowledging the processes that led to the situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty, this study also does not discuss in detail the preceding periods. It, therefore, looks at a single period of approximately 250 years. In the context of ancient Egypt this is a small time period, but it is an important one. The Ramesside Period is known for its emphasis on royal ancestors, and so by looking at the Eighteenth Dynasty it has been possible to discuss the early development of this.

It has also set a format for discussion on which further such studies can be based. By taking a specific time and site(s), it has been possible to evaluate in detail the processes of memory in Egyptian communities so that conclusions can be drawn. This method, of case studies within a wider context, may be used for studies of different time periods (and indeed of different cultures).

6.3.2. GEOGRAPHIC

A second limitation is that of geography. Again, in an Egyptian context the range is small. Due to the limitations of a study such as this it was necessary to draw parameters and one of these was by location. The three key cities for the early New Kingdom were selected, all of which acted as royal capital for a time in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Thebes and Memphis had been the key royal cities throughout Egyptian history and so had the closest connection with kings of the past. They also had the highest concentration of royal monuments, which supported the development of memory within the communities nearby. Any study of the Eighteenth Dynasty should also take into account the site of Amarna, as royal capital for the period in which Akhenaten was ruler. Although only in use for a brief period it is important to assess if the evidence at this site fits in with the picture at the other main sites. The Amarna

Period is also key to the discussion of forgetting, even if the evidence relating to the erasure of the memory of Akhenaten is from Thebes. Unfortunately the evidence at the site of Amarna has been minimal, with only one tomb depiction; this depiction has been included in the evidence as an interesting contrast to the depictions at Thebes and Memphis but the site of Amarna has not featured in the discussions relating to writing and action. However, as has been noted, the conclusions can be drawn relating to this absence of memory.

By focusing on specific sites, others have had to be excluded.⁵⁵ An example of a site that has not been discussed is Abydos, at which the memorial complex of Ahmose is situated; a cult of Ahmose is known to have functioned in the New Kingdom and so the site may provide further evidence for the remembrance of deceased kings in Egyptian society.⁵⁶ Additional sites across Egypt may have added more evidence to the catalogue.⁵⁷ But, as has been discussed, the intention of this study was not to create a complete catalogue of evidence, but to provide a range of evidence that would allow for detailed discussion of theory. These sites have provided this, and conclusions would not have been significantly changed by the addition of others.

⁵⁵ This is in addition to those monuments which have been excluded due to difficulty in accessing the evidence (see, for example, the graffiti excluded from the study, ch. 2.2).

⁵⁶ A statue base from Abydos supports this (Manchester Museum Acc. No. 2939); the base includes the names of three kings, namely Thutmose III, Amenhotep I and Ahmose. Although the date of this piece is uncertain, it does demonstrate a recognition of a royal 'genealogy' in private votive objects (C. Price 2013, 2014).

⁵⁷ A further site that should be noted in the Middle Kingdom capital of *It-t3wy*. Like the three sites included in this study, *It-t3wy* served as a royal capital, in this instance in the Middle Kingdom and, as such, would be an interesting addition to the discussion. Unfortunately the site has not yet been identified, and so cannot be included at this point (Shaw 2000: 158).

6.3.3. CATEGORIES OF EVIDENCE

A final limitation of this study was the range of evidence. The introduction discussed the reasons for evidence choices, but by leaving out other forms of evidence, some information may have been lost. Examples of possible forms of evidence that have not been included are those in the domestic sphere⁵⁸ and stelae.⁵⁹ By using immovable evidence from a memorial context, however, the intention was to focus on evidence that was, itself, intended to last eternally. This mirrors the hope of the state that the memory of royal ancestors would be eternal, thus providing the most suitable context through which to discuss the subject.

The evidence used in this study focuses on specific categories which represent the three forms of memory discussed, namely graffiti, tomb depictions and records of personal titles relating to memorial cults. By limiting the evidence to these specific types and by looking only at cases which occurred in a memorial context, the discussion and conclusion have also been limited. It is, however, hoped that the evidence used provides a representative example so that conclusions would not be significantly altered by the addition of other forms of evidence. It is also hoped that future studies will provide information to bridge any gaps.

⁵⁸ A study by Anna Stevens (2006), for example, has emphasised the wide range of evidence of domestic religion that can be found at Amarna; she includes jewellery, plaques, statues, shrines and many other forms to illustrate the discussion. The majority of the objects refer to deities, but a small number relate to royal individuals; these are primarily the living king and his family (see, for example, Stevens (2006: 63-65) for details of jewellery that gives the names of the royal family), but there are some exceptions. One interesting scarab, for example, includes the name of Amenhotep II (Stevens 2006: 64) and a pendant gives the name of Thutmose III (Stevens 2006: 66). Pieces like these may illustrate commemoration of royal ancestors in a domestic setting, through the creation, or retention, of jewellery.

⁵⁹ Several stelae of uncertain origin have been identified that show the remembrance of deceased royal individuals. One of these, thought to be Theban in origin, shows the owner, Kenamun, before Amenhotep I and Senwosret, thus linking these two kings (see PM I.II: 810 for references). A second, probably from Deir el-Medina, shows the owner, Parennefer, before Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (PM I.II: 730-731). Both stelae are dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

6.4. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research may, therefore, focus on two main approaches; expanding the evidential basis, and comparing the Egyptian example with other cultures.

6.4.1. EXPANSION OF EVIDENCE BASE

The first of these, an expansion of the evidence base, is perhaps the most straightforward. As has been discussed above, there are three areas in which the evidence base can easily be expanded. The first is by widening the timeframe. By looking at times before and after the period discussed it will be possible to understand more fully the development of memory within society and the mechanisms through which this occurred. It will also be possible to identify different emphases or threads which may be prominent at different points in time. The aim of this study has been to look at the development of memory in a given society, by taking a snapshot in time from which to analyse this. By expanding the timeframe, one can look at the processes by which memory developed, comparing different points in time against each other.

Evidence from the Old and Middle Kingdoms may help to increase understanding of the developments that led up to the situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and allow analysis of whether memory processes remained static throughout Egyptian history or if they changed based on variations in society. Looking at later periods allows discussion of the focus on royal ancestors in the Ramesside Period, the increase in archaism in the Third Intermediate Period and beyond, and the ways in which this tied into processes of memory.

The timeframe may also be increased further, beyond the end of the Egyptian pharaonic period into later cultures. This will allow for comparisons between ancient and more modern cultures, assessing theories of memory across wider time periods.

The second possible evidential expansion is to widen the geographical coverage. Due to the limitations placed upon this study, the sites were limited to Thebes, the Memphite region and Amarna. Bringing in other sites, such as Aswan and Abydos, would allow for analysis of whether the same processes and ideas were followed throughout Egypt, or if different areas gave rise to different perspectives and processes. The comparison between Thebes and Memphis has been hampered by the different evidence found at each site, again discussed above, and so including more sites with similar evidence would allow for a more thorough analysis of the site-specific versus the national.

The third key area for expansion of evidence is the type of evidence looked at. This study has focused on evidence found in a memorial context. Again, this excludes other material that may be useful. Examples of this are evidence found in a domestic context as well as votive stelae left in temples and shrines.⁶⁰ The addition of such evidence would allow more detailed discussion of the ways in which the commemoration of royal ancestors permeated the private lives of Egyptians; items used in the home, for example, would probably have been far less susceptible to the rules of ‘decorum’ than tomb depictions or even public graffiti. Votive objects, whilst being public and perhaps, therefore, more subject to the rules of what is acceptable, were a representation of a personal connection with a god or deceased individual; these acted both as markers of a request (or series of requests) and served as a public

⁶⁰ These options are discussed above, ch. 6.3.3.

monument to the figure represented in much the same way as tomb depictions or graffiti. As such, they may help to clarify discussions based in this thesis and support some of the conclusions made.

6.4.2. COMPARATIVE STUDIES

The second approach to future study is to use the Egyptian evidence and compare it with other cultures. By discussing the evidence presented here in the context of other ancient societies it will be possible to build up a clearer picture of memory in the ancient world; were there overreaching processes and ideas which permeated most ancient societies? It will then be possible to build more effective theories of memory and society in the ancient world, much as Pierre Nora has done for early modern France.

This study has noted points for discussion, where conclusions drawn about Egyptian evidence may be used to further understanding of remembering in other cultures; many of the aspects discussed are relevant beyond the boundaries of ancient Egypt. With regards to graffiti, similar texts can be found at sites such as Pompeii and Dura-Europos; while the context may vary, with much of the graffiti at other sites found in domestic contexts, the analysis of Egyptian graffiti in this study can further understanding of the motivations behind leaving such marks, and of the effects.⁶¹

Conclusions relating to active remembering and ritual may also be applied to other cultures. Royal memorial cults as found, for example, in ancient Greece and Rome, required the

⁶¹ These relate, for example, to the use of graffiti to lay claim to a site, as well as the legitimising function of such texts, through the development of a collective identity.

involvement of priests, and of the wider community to provide the temple with the products to carry out rituals. The temples themselves acted as lasting signs of the rituals that were carried out within. Festivals dedicated to past rulers provided access to the community and helped to develop a group identity based around the person of the emperor. These examples, which are discussed more fully in the conclusion to each chapter, show how the ideas discussed in this study may be applied to other cultures, in particular those of the ancient world, thus facilitating a better understanding of cultural memory in a wider context.

Building on this, and using the works such as that of Nora, one may then begin to build theories of memory that incorporate both the ancient and modern world, if such a thing is fully possible. This study has looked at the suitability of current theories of memory in the context of an ancient society, and there are clear points of connection upon which such theories may be based; these are discussed below.⁶²

6.5. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Looking at the limitations of the study, perhaps its relevance to other periods and cultures may then be questioned; what can a discussion on memory in a small group of people from before 1000 BC add to discussions on memory and culture throughout history, where the majority of scholarship has been focused on modern and early modern societies? But this is why a study such as this is so important. By taking theories that have been developed in relation to modern societies and evaluating them for one so totally different from those for which they have previously been used, it is possible to assess the universal relevance of theories of memory and culture. Do the current theories stand up across cultures or are they

⁶² See ch. 6.5.1.2.

time and place specific? And if so, how can they be adapted to suit a wider social scale? These questions cannot be answered fully in one study, but this work provides a point at which one may begin to discuss them.

6.5.1. EGYPT IN CONTEXT

6.5.1.1. CASE STUDIES AS A FORM OF SCHOLARSHIP

This thesis has used case studies to examine memory in Egyptian society, focusing on graffiti, tomb depictions and memorial cults. It also looked at the same forms of evidence, with relation to forgetting. Through this it has been possible to examine the processes through which memory was retained, communicated and erased, both formally and informally, in communities.

Egypt is a complex culture, spanning a vast time period. Studies that attempt to look at memory in ancient Egypt on a wide level risk making sweeping generalisations, and ignoring the detailed functions through which memory played a role in society. By continuing to focus on specific case studies, and linking these with theories of memory, it is possible, however, to delve more deeply into the working of memory on a smaller scale, looking at individual and group experience rather than accessing only a top-down approach.

6.5.1.2. THE RELEVANCE OF CURRENT THEORIES IN STUDIES OF MEMORY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

As much scholarship has focused on more recent cultures, its relevance to ancient civilisations cannot be assumed. Many of the concepts put forward in current literature, however, have been found to be relevant when looking at Egyptian society, even if the exact processes are not mirrored. This section will look particularly at theories which relate to cultural memory, which has been the main focus of this study. These relate to Assmann's six characteristics of cultural memory, which are loosely defined as the creation of identity, a basis in the present, the roles of canonisation and specialisation, decorum and reflexivity (Assmann 1995).⁶³

6.5.1.2.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEMORY

One key aspect is the importance of material culture, which forms the basis of this study.⁶⁴ Assmann (2006: 1) places material culture at the centre of memory, focusing also on the role of tradition. The evidence looked at in this study supports the hypothesis that material culture played a vital role in retaining memory in communities and in allowing them to access it; this culture was found in great memorial complexes, texts, depictions and even ritual activity focused around royal statues. This also emphasises the need for specialists who have knowledge of the rituals and texts needed to decode the sites of memory and make them accessible to others (Assmann 2010: 114). These specialists retained the knowledge and passed it on to their successors, ensuring that it was not lost. Such roles can be found recorded

⁶³ See also ch. 1.5.2.

⁶⁴ This is true even of ritual, as the rituals themselves were focused around material objects such as statues. Specific objects have become imbued with memory – through a process reminiscent of Aleida Assmann's 'canonisation' – which is then communicated through performance such as a ritual or procession, or reading a text and adding one's own addition to it.

on funerary cones and in private tombs in the form of titles relating to royal memorial cults.⁶⁵ The standardised forms of evidence, for example commonly found phrases in graffiti, suggest that certain ideas were passed down from the state, via specialists, to the community, who then integrated them into their own cultural memory and recorded them in their own way.⁶⁶ Ideas were, therefore, canonised both on a state level (for example, through the building of memorial estates) and on a more individual level (for example, through leaving graffiti). These ideas both reflected Egyptian culture and developed it.

The connection between oral and literate culture should also not be ignored. Assmann (2006: 41) emphasises the importance of ritual and festival in oral cultures; Egypt, however, was a culture that was both literate and oral, with the elite able to read and write and the rest largely illiterate. The interaction of the two forms can, therefore, be looked at here. Oral communication is difficult to analyse in ancient Egypt as there is usually no clear record of it; yet the written sources that survive often represent an act that was primarily oral, such as the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula.⁶⁷ These texts were intended to be read aloud for the *k3* of the deceased. One should, therefore, not dismiss the potential importance of oral traditions. The same is true across the ancient world, where much of the population was illiterate. The surviving evidence points to long-term forms of memory retained in material culture, but this is not to say that communicative forms of memory were not active in society. Perhaps the evidence that has survived is the result of Aleida Assmann's canonisation; communicative memory has been selectively transmitted into material forms, thus becoming part of cultural memory, but these represent a society that was in many ways, oral.

⁶⁵ Particular note should be taken of the title *ḥry sšt3* (master of secrets) (T06T25); this title clearly shows that the individual was trusted with specialist knowledge that was not available to all.

⁶⁶ This forms the basis of decorum as discussed, for example, by Baines (1990).

⁶⁷ See ch. 2.3.4.2 for further discussion of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula. Of course, although oral, this formula was a highly stylised text that transmitted accepted ideas and norms. It does, however, demonstrate the importance of oral transmission of culture.

But how far were cultural memory sites a part of society; did they, as Nora (1996: 7) suggests, no longer ‘form a real part of everyday existence’? Cult statues may be classed as being separate from the everyday experience of many Egyptians, their being brought into the community at specific festivals. But tombs and royal memorial structures, whilst being the realm of the dead, appear to have been visited by Egyptians for a variety of reasons; one must question, therefore, whether they were really set apart from everyday existence or if they retained a connection with the lives of communities that lived near to them. At this point one is faced with the challenge of attempting to guess at what individuals thought and it is, therefore, difficult to reach a satisfactory conclusion on this question. It would, however, be wrong to assume that such sites were fully separate from society, and so one should retain an open mind on this point, particularly when some of the graffiti included in this study are noted, which suggest that people may have visited royal memorials for reasons of education or even recreation.⁶⁸ These sites were not, therefore, entirely separate from local communities but may have played an integral role in the day-to-day activities of those who lived nearby.

6.5.1.2.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN MEMORY

This study has shown that cultural memory in ancient Egypt was not static, it changed and developed based on the demands of the society in which it existed, as noted by Halbwachs (1992:25).⁶⁹ Furthermore, the individual and autobiographical aspects of memory should not be ignored, as are particularly emphasised by the personal titles recorded in ch. 4 of this

⁶⁸ See, for example, G00M31.

⁶⁹ See also Bloch (1925: 77), Ricœur (2004: 101).

study; the role of autobiography is put forward by psychologists in studies of memory, such as Wang and Brockmeier (2002).

It was through active involvement in memory that people claimed it and moulded it to their own ideals. Objects did not communicate memory in and of themselves; it was accessed and communicated through action. Those with the required understanding and knowledge were able to activate the memories of objects, thus making them accessible to the wider community. This knowledge may be that of ritual specialists carrying out a cult action, or it may be the ability to read and write, thus giving the opportunity to recite a text written on a wall. Here, the processes of memory are acknowledged, as discussed by Connerton (1989: 38); in Egyptian society these included rituals and processions, the creating of graffiti and the decoration of tombs. Furthermore, through forgetting certain memories, the development of new ones was facilitated which better served the needs of the group, or perhaps of the elite. Each of these actions ensured that the cultural memory of the community was passed on to the next generation.⁷⁰

Adding one's own graffiti to a royal monument created a connection between the graffitist and the king who, long dead, had left his mark on the landscape; filling one's tomb with images of royal ancestors added an eternal connection between the tomb owner and the king, one that would be continued into the afterlife; acting in a king's memorial cult ensured that he became part of one's own identity, providing employment and wages as well as being a key part of everyday life. It was through actively connecting with these figures that people came to share in the group's memory, and it was through the actions of the community that

⁷⁰ See also Bloch (1954:40-41) for discussion of the active nature of memory. Aleida Assmann's discussion of passive and active memory should also be noted, as not all memory was actively used at all times; some was stored for future use (A. Assmann 2010: 99). In Egyptian culture this may be found in royal memorial cults and tombs that were not visited in all periods but came to prominence, for example, in the New Kingdom.

memories developed and evolved, with some being rejected and others elevated depending on the societal and political demands of the time. If kings were not actively remembered they simply fell out of memory, as has been seen with the omission of so many kings from the evidence presented here.

6.5.1.2.3. THE LIVING KING AS A LIEU DE MÉMOIRE

Manier and Hirst (2010: 253) write that memory must serve a function. A key function is the formation of communal identity, as noted by Halbwachs (1992: 25) among others.⁷¹ It aids the development of bonds within a community, through which identity is created. As such, it can be a powerful force within that community. In the Egyptian culture which has been the focus of this study, a key result of this identity formation has been the implicit legitimization of the pharaoh through the continued importance of his ancestors.

The king provided a central figure around which the cultural memory and identity of the community could develop. Royal temples and tombs were built close to the cities of Memphis and Thebes; they stood on the horizon, either as active memorial cults or as historic monuments. These sites held the memory of the king that had built them for future generations. But these monuments were not the only way in which the memory of the king remained in society; rituals and festivals kept the memory of specific kings alive, bringing the memories held within material culture back into contact with Egyptian society. While much of this may be seen as having been the work of the state – indeed, Assmann (2006: 91) writes that memory can only be sustained by state power – reactions to this by individuals go beyond state activity. Graffiti records personal reactions to state monuments, while tomb depictions,

⁷¹ See also Connection (1989: 3), Assmann (2010: 114).

and erasures, show an acceptance of state ideals on a personal level. Egyptian culture, therefore, provides evidence that the ideas propagated by the state may continue in a community beyond official activities; their reach is far wider. It is through this that the true power of cultural memory becomes clear. By providing structures through which memory may be retained and communicated, the state encouraged the development of a group identity based around the king, and around kings of the past, in much the same way as was done in other cultures.⁷² This identity became an integral part of the group and was, then, continued and developed further (see Ricœur (2004: 83)).

Yet one must question if royal ancestors be seen as distinct from the living king. Perhaps, instead of being seen as ultimately separate, royal ancestors were amalgamated into the concept of the 'king who never dies'. The living king was not physically present in the lives of most Egyptians; the lack of evidence of royal visits to local communities suggests that he did not visit them on a regular basis.⁷³ Equally, he could not be watched on television or listened to on the radio, but was, instead present through symbols and representations.⁷⁴ Price (1984: 4-5) notes the importance of cults in promulgating the memory of a ruler who was not physically present in the Roman Empire, and Egyptian cults can be seen in the same light.

So how was he different from these royal ancestors who formed an important part of cultural memory? The answer is, simply, that he was not. Memorial cults were built and used in the lifetime of the king; the living pharaoh was the next in a line of divinely appointed rulers, a continuation of the eternal kingship of Egypt. As such he was not fully distinguishable from those who preceded him and those who would succeed him. The importance of dynastic

⁷² Such as is discussed by Morrissey (2001) in relation to early modern France.

⁷³ Exell (2006: 59) discusses a possible later visit of Ramesses II to the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Medina but such events appear to have been rare in the New Kingdom, and even this example is uncertain.

⁷⁴ Lecoq (2001) discusses the importance of symbols of royalty in early modern France.

continuity is found throughout ancient, and modern, cultures although the emphasis in Egyptian culture on the royal *k3* makes it, perhaps, more explicit.⁷⁵ As set out by Kantorowicz's concept of the two bodies of the king, the pharaoh was both mortal and immortal; he was a living, breathing king but, more importantly, he was the possessor of the royal *k3*, a representative of the unending kingship of Egypt that began with the gods and would continue indefinitely. Even while alive his death was being prepared for; death was simply a continuation of life and so the king, living or dead, was part of a long spectrum.

The pharaoh, as the representative of rulers past, present and future, provided a central force for the community. Work, festivals, rituals and monuments all focused around the concept of the king. He was a powerful *lieu de mémoire* for Egyptian communities, representing the state and the divine, as well as the continuation of established order.⁷⁶ Cultural memory developed around this centre, and communal identity along with it. The king was not simply a ruler, he was a manifestation of the divine right to rule, the possessor of the royal *k3* and a symbol of power and stability. While he existed, Egypt would continue to be.

⁷⁵ See above, ch. 1.8.2.1., for discussion of the role of royal ancestors in ancient cultures as are discussed, for example, by S. Price (1984: 61) and Launderville (2003, 166-167).

⁷⁶ This supports Boureau's view that the king was the embodiment of the state (Boureau 2001).

GUIDE TO THE APPENDICES

A primary catalogue has been created for each chapter so as to allow easy reference to the material.¹ Where a piece of evidence has been used in more than one chapter, it has been given a reference number on its first use; it has not, then been included in later catalogues but has instead been referred to by its original catalogue number.²

The references are made up of four separate parts:

1. The initial letter denotes which catalogue the reference belongs to:

G – Graffito

D – Depiction

T – Personal title

F – Forgetting

2. The following two numbers give the reign that the evidence dates to, beginning with ‘01’ for the reign of Ahmose and ending with ‘14’ for the reign of Horemheb. A further number, ‘00’ indicates that the reign is unknown, but is within the Eighteenth Dynasty.³

3. The letter which follows indicates the site at which the evidence was located:

¹ App. 1 relates to chapter 2, app. 6 to chapter 3, app. 12 to chapter 4 and app. 16 to chapter 5.

² This primarily occurs in the catalogue to the fifth chapter (forgetting), where several pieces of evidence have been taken from earlier discussions. One seeming exception to this is the graffiti, referenced in app. 1 and then re-referenced in app. 12. This is because the references in app. 1 refer to the individual graffiti, while the references in App. 12 refer to the specific title contained within them.

³ A challenge arises when evidence is dated to the reigns of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut as there was a long coregency between the two. Based on Shaw (2000) who places the beginning of Thutmose III’s reign slightly before that of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III has been allocated ‘05’ in the chronology while Hatshepsut has been allocated ‘06’. It is recognised, however, that this may not fully represent the evidence, particularly as Thutmose III continued to rule after the death of Hatshepsut; for this reason some pieces of evidence which clearly relate to the later part of Thutmose III’s reign, after Hatshepsut’s death, have been catalogued under ‘06’ to denote this (for example T06T30).

M – Memphis

T – Thebes

A – Amarna

4. The final two numbers are sequential, beginning at ‘01’ in each catalogue and continuing until the end of that catalogue.

For example, the reference G03M04 indicates that the evidence is a graffito (G). It is dated to the third reign in the Eighteenth Dynasty (03), that of Thutmose I, and was found at Memphis (M). Finally, it is the fourth piece of evidence in the graffiti catalogue (04).

Through this system, each piece of evidence can be easily identified and found in the relevant catalogue. It is also possible to glean basic information about a piece of evidence simply from the catalogue number, without having to look at the catalogue entry.

Additional appendices give further analysis of specific details relating to the evidence.

APPENDIX 1. DETAILS OF GRAFFITI

Where the hieratic version of a graffito is available, it has been transcribed into hieroglyphs, transliterated and translated. Where a hieratic version is not available, the text has been based on a hieroglyphic version or, where neither can be found, a translation. When transcribing from hieratic, certain standards have been used. Lacunae have been marked where there is clearly text missing (i.e. when a lacuna is shown in the hieratic version, where part of a word is missing, or where the text ends in the middle of a phrase); it is possible that other sections of text are also missing but, due to the difficulty of assessing the original length of graffiti, marked lacunae have been limited to those sections where missing text can be definitively identified. Furthermore, where text is missing, possibilities are given based on comparisons with other texts and on the work of other scholars.

Where the inclusion of a word or phrase within a lacuna is certain, it has been included in the hieroglyphic transcription. Where several possibilities are identified (or the suggestion is merely hypothetical), these have been noted either in the transliteration or the translation but not in the hieroglyphic transcription.

The transliteration scheme is as set out below:

(...) – denotes the inclusion, by the translator, of part of words that would normally be included in the text but have been left out by the scribe. This is also used in the translation to give the more commonly used name of a pharaoh if this is not used in the original text.

[...] – denotes a damaged part of text, or a lacuna.

{...} – denotes parts in which the wrong sign/word has been used by the scribe.

<...> - denotes words which not been included in the original text but have been included by the translator (usually because the word is normally included in the phrase, and so it is assumed that its omission was either a mistake or due to a lack of space).

As noted above, some of the texts have been based on hieroglyphic transcriptions (Gunn MSS) rather than on hieratic originals. In these cases Gunn's notation has been included. This is primarily the use of square brackets in transcriptions;¹ although this notation is not used in the other hieroglyphic transcriptions in this catalogue, it has been left when used by Gunn to denote his reconstructions, rather than those of this study.

The height of the graffito from ground level is not available for most of the texts in this catalogue. Where it is available, however, it has been included as it allows for a better understanding of the positioning of the graffiti in the context of a three dimensional building.

¹These may denote reconstructions of damaged sections, although this is not stated by Gunn. Square brackets have also been used in the transliteration where signs have been included behind shading in the transcription; Gunn does not make clear if such signs are visible in the original or are reconstructions, and so square brackets have been used in the transliteration to make this uncertainty clear.

References:

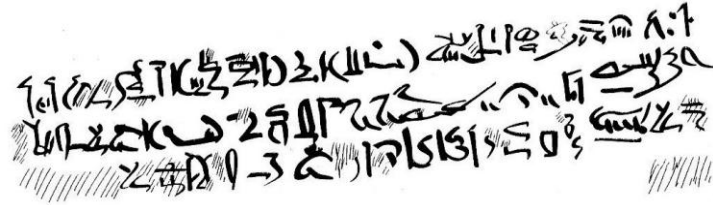
Davies 1920: 28, pl. xxxva[3]

Ragazzoli 2013: 33

G02M03

Date: Amenhotep I

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 81)⁶



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 20 3bd 4 3ḥt [sw ...]*⁷ *ḥr ḥm n nsw-bit Dsr-k3-R^c s3-R^c Imn-ḥtp ḥnh dt nḥh*

2) *iwt pw ir.n sš Tḥ-ms r m33 ḥwt-ntr nt⁸ Dsr gm.n(.f)⁹ sy mi [...]*

3) *[pt] m ḥnw(.s)¹⁰ R^c wbnw¹¹ i[m.sy] gm.n(.f) s[y] mi [w^c m(?)¹² ...]*

4) [...]

⁶ All images from Navrátilová (2007) are reproduced courtesy of the Czech Institute of Egyptology.

⁷ It can be assumed that *sw* is included in this phrase. Navrátilová (2007: 81) reads the day as ‘19’ as does Černý (1935: 79[a]); although the remaining sign appears to read ‘100’, this can be discounted as an error, but the actual date is impossible read with certainty.

⁸ Navrátilová (2007: 81) includes this as an alphabetic part of the word *ntr*, transliterating the section as ‘*ḥwt-ntr Dsr*’, which is a possible alternative.

⁹ This graffitist does not include the personal pronoun in this construction either here or in the next line. Navrátilová (2007: 81) notes that this is unusual.

¹⁰ One would assume that the pronoun is intended, as it is usually found in such phrases (see Navrátilová 2007: 81).

¹¹ Navrátilová (2007: 81) suggests that the text reads ‘*wbwb*’, although she notes, though the use of ‘sic.’ after the word, that this is clearly an incorrect spelling.

¹² Navrátilová (2007: 81) suggests ‘*w^cw*’.

Translation:

- 1) Year 20, month 4, [day ...] under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkara (Djoser), son of Ra, Amenhotep, who lives forever and ever.
- 2) The coming of the scribe Ahmose to see the temple of Djoser. (He) found it like
- 3) [heaven] in (its) interior, Ra rising [in it]. (He) found it like [one (?)...]
- 4) [...]

References:¹³

Černý 1935: 79[a]

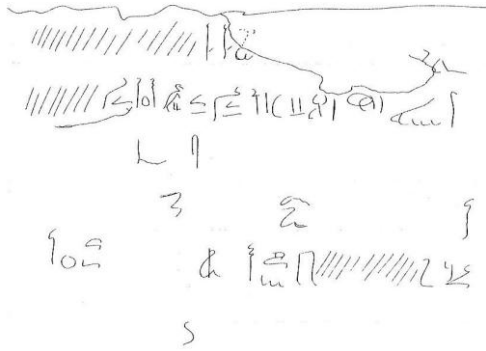
Navrátilová 2007: 81-82

¹³ Further references for graffiti at Saqqara are Gunn MSS.XIII.4, and Gunn's notebooks (no. 31) and tracings. For the purposes of brevity, these references have not been included in this catalogue but they are fully listed in Navratilova (2007).

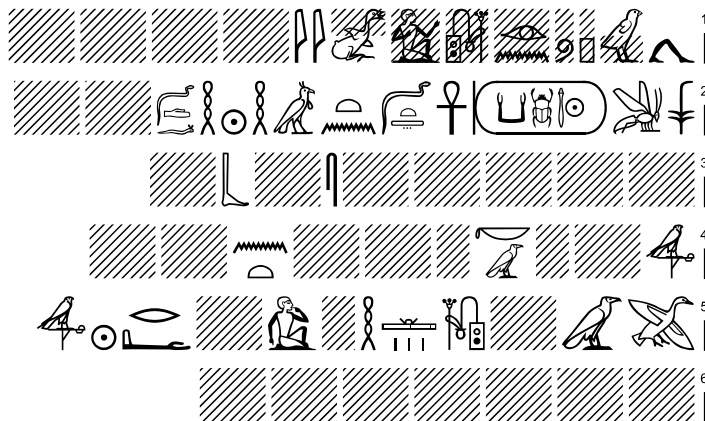
G03M04

Date: Thutmose I

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 82)



Transliteration:

1) *iw[t pw ir.n sš]¹⁴ 𐎓𐎠y [...]¹⁵*

2) *nsw-bit 3^c-hpr-k3-R^c 𐎠nh dt {t}¹⁶ nhh dd.f[...]*

¹⁴ Černý (1935: 79[b]) suggests a reading of ‘the [scribe] They came ...’ to fill the first lacuna. Based on the first two signs, which have survived, this is the only conclusion that can be drawn and so this lacuna has been filled in.

¹⁵ The second lacuna on this line may be filled with the commonly used phrase *r m33 hwt-ntr n ...* (see, for example G02M03); however, the inclusion of the name of the living king in the next line suggests that there may, instead, be a different phrase, possibly a dating formula although these are normally found at the beginning of the text.

¹⁶ Possibly intended to be *r nhh*.

3) [...] *s* [...] *b* [...]

4) [...] *k3* [...] *nt* [...]

5) *p3* [...] *sš h* [...] *R^c*¹⁷

6) [...]

Translation:

1) Coming [of the scribe] Tjay [...]

2) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara (Thutmose I) who lives forever and ever. He said [...]

3-4) [fragments]

5) the [...] scribe [...] Ra.

6) [fragments].

References:

Černý 1935: 79[b]

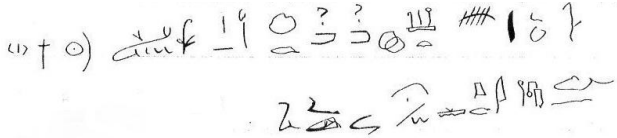
Navrátilová 2007: 82-83

¹⁷ Navrátilová (2007: 83) reads this as ‘*t3*’ but, given the determinatives, it is likely that the sign is \Leftarrow and not Δ , so that the word reads *R^c*.

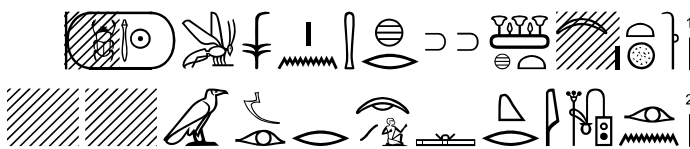
G04M05

Date: Thutmose I - Thutmose II

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 85)



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 1*¹⁸ [*3bd ...*] *3ḥt* <*sw*> *20*¹⁹ *ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit ʕ3-[ḥpr-...-]R*²⁰

2) *ir.n sš iḳr Bḥ(-ms) r m33 [...]*

Translation:

1) Year 1, [month ...] of Akhet, <day> 20 under the majesty of the King of Upper and

Lower Egypt, Aak[heper...]ra.²¹

2) Coming²² of the excellent scribe Ah(mose) to see [...]

¹⁸ Černý (1935: 79[C]) read the sign as '1', translating the text as 'year 1', while Navrátilová (2007: 85) does not include a year number. The tracing suggests that the year is '1' but it is possible that this is an incorrect reading.

¹⁹ Note the question-marks above the $\supset \supset$ signs in the hieratic copy. This dating is tenuous.

²⁰ Both Černý (1935: 79[C]) and Navrátilová (2007: 84) note that the cartouche may read either $\textcircled{\text{ḥpr-n-R}}$ (*ʕ3-ḥpr-n-R*) or $\textcircled{\text{ḥpr-k3-R}}$ (*ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-R*) as it is damaged.

²¹ Either Aakheperkara (Thutmose I) or Aakheperenra (Thutmose II). As noted above, the reading of the cartouche is ambiguous.

²² Although this phrase is incomplete (one would normally expect *iwt pw ir.n sš...*), the meaning is clear.

References:

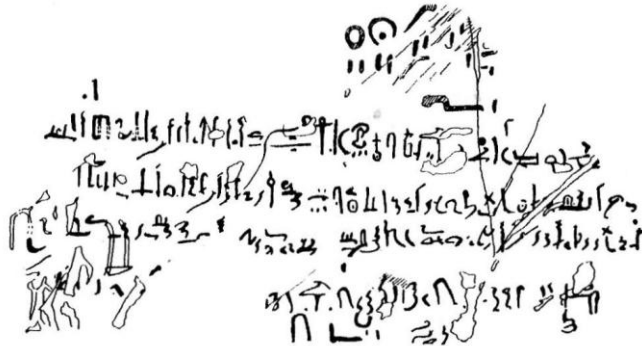
Černý 1935: 79[c]

Navrátilová 2007: 84

G05M06

Date: Thutmose III

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 68)



(Navrátilová 2007: 31)



Transliteration:

1-2) [Date]²³

3) [nsw-]bit Mn-(hpr)-R^c s3-R^c Dḥwty-ms-nfr-hprw ḥnh-dt r nhḥ ist ḥm.f ḥr d3h

4) [... t3w Fn]²⁴ ḥw ḥbḥb H3rw ḥr st.sn ḥr wd it.f Imn-R^c nsw ntrw

5) [iwt pw ir.n]²⁵ whm nswt Bmw [n]dḥ r m33 mr pn p3 ḥthw [hn^c] n3 n ḥr^cw [...]

²³ The first line includes fragments of signs that may be part of a date formula. The length of the first two lines is unclear, and so may have included more information, or may be primarily the date.

²⁴ Based on Helck's original transliteration of the text which reads (Helck 1965: 115).

²⁵ Again, this reconstruction is based on Helck (1965: 115) who suggests to fill the lacuna; based on the length of the lacuna, it may have been written here or partially at the end of the line above.

6) [...] *m-pt* [...] *Imn-ḥtp sš Mntw-ḥtp sš Dhwti-m-[ḥt ...*²⁶

7) [...] *df* [...] *sš* [...]

Translation:

1-2) [Date]

3) The King of [Upper and] Lower Egypt, Men(kheper)ra (Thutmose III), son of Ra,

Djehutymes-Neferkheper[u], who lives forever and ever. While His Majesty was in Syria

4) [...] he trampled the lands of the Fen]khu and the Hurrians upon their place according to the command of his father, Amun-Ra, king of the gods

5) [The coming of the] royal herald Amu[n]edjeh²⁷ to see this pyramid, the brewers [and] the assistants [...]

6) [...]mpet, Amenhotep, the scribe Mentuhotep, the scribe Djehutyem[hat, Humesh(?) ...]



7) [...] ²⁸ scribe [...]

References:

Helck 1965: 115

Navrátilová 2007: 31-34

Stock 1959: Abb. 7

²⁶ Helck suggests a reconstruction of  although the word is no longer visible. Navrátilová (2007: 32) includes the sign  at the end of this line, which follows Helck's suggestion.

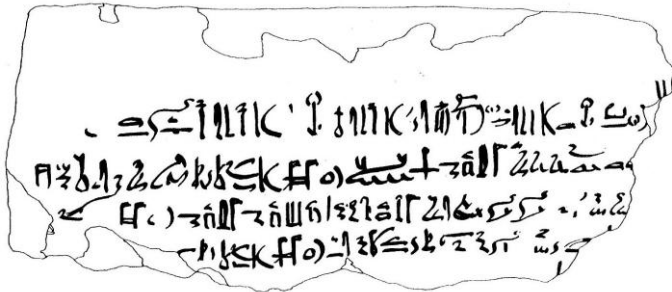
²⁷ See Navrátilová (2007: 33) for notes and references on Amunedjeh, who is also known from other sources.

²⁸ There is no clear translation for *df* due to the lack of context.

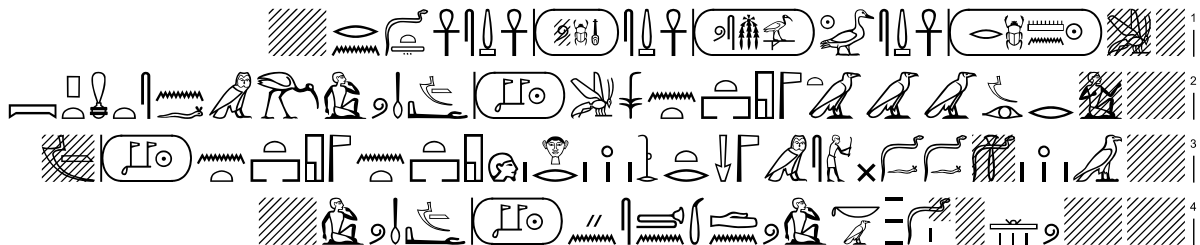
G05M07

Date: Thutmose III

Location: Memorial Temple of Sahura, Abusir (possibly southern part of temple)²⁹



(Navrátilová 2007: 49)





Transliteration:

- 1) [...] ³⁰ [nsw-]bit Mn-hpr-R^c ḥnh wd3 snb s3-R^c Dḥwty-msw ḥnh wd3 snb Nfr-hpr[w] ḥnh
wd3 snb ḥnh dt r n[h³¹ ...]
- 2) [...] ³² r m33 t3 ḥwt-ntr nt nsw-bit S3ḥw-R^c m3^c-ḥrw gm.n.f st mi pt

²⁹ Location within temple is suggested by Navrátilová (2007: 49).

³⁰ Megally (1981: 221-222) and Navrátilová (2007: 49) suggest that this line begins with the usual dating formula (*ḥ3t-sp ... 3bd ... sw ... ḥr ḥm n nsw-bit ...*).

³¹ It is likely that the phrase ends with  (*nḥh*) based on other examples.

³² Again, it is likely that this phrase begins with the common formula, *iwt pw ir n* Megally (1981: 222, 224-225) suggests that the lacuna here should be translated as ‘the scribe ..., son of the scribe ... came’; she notes that the  determinative at the end of the lacuna is unlikely to be that of the name of the writer of the text but is, instead, probably that of the name of his father, as it was customary for scribes to state their parentage. She notes that it is also possibly the name of another scribe who visited the temple with the author. Navrátilová (2007: 49) also suggests a reconstruction of ‘*iwt pw ir n sš ḥ s3 sš Y ...*’.

3) [...] ³³ *tyw [w3d] dfdf.s m sntr hr tp-ḥwt³⁴ nt ḥwt-ntr nt S3ḥw-R^c [m3^c-ḥrw]*

4) [...] *w w[d] k3 wdn.ty sy n S3ḥw-R^c m3^c-ḥrw [...]*

Translation:

1) King of [Upper and] Lower Egypt, Menkheper (Thutmose III), ³⁵ given life, prosperity, health, Son of Ra, Djehutymes, given life prosperity, health, Neferkheper[u], given life, prosperity, health, who lives forever and [ever ...].

2) [Coming of the scribe, son of the scribe] to see the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahura, true of voice. He found it like heaven

3) [and so he said, ‘Let heaven] drip fresh myrrh and pour incense upon the roof of the temple of Sahura [true of voice]




4) [...] then ³⁶ offer it to Sahura, true of voice [...]

References:

Megally 1981: 221-227, 235-236

Navrátilová 2007: 49-50

³³ Megally (1981: 222) and Navrátilová (2007: 49) suggest that the beginning of this line should read ‘and then he said, “may heaven ...”’. Navrátilová (2007: 49) reconstructs the phrase as ‘*ḥ^c n dd.n.f hwi pt n ntyw ...*’.

³⁴ Navrátilová (2007: 49) writes the word as  but it seems clear from the text that it should be written  .

³⁵ The following royal names in this line all refer to Thutmose III.

³⁶ Navrátilová (2007: 50) suggests that the word here is either ‘*k3i*’ (‘think’) or ‘*k3*’ (‘see’). Megally (1981: 222), however, translates this line as ‘may I then offer it to Sahure ...’ which supports the possibility that *k3* should be translated as ‘then’.

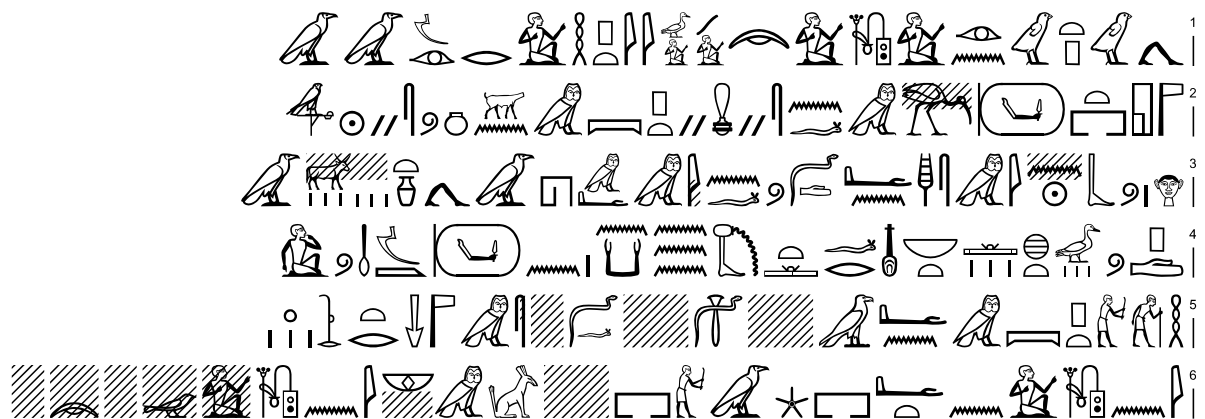
G05M08

Date: Thutmose III

Location: North Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (Wall A (see plan 1a), 77 cm from ground level)

ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ
ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ
ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ
ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ
ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ
ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ ḥḥ

(Navrátilová 2007: 75)





Transliteration:





- 1) *iwt pw ir.n sš ʾḫ-ms s3 ʾpṯh r m33*
- 2) *ḥwt-ntr Dsr gm.n.f sy mi³⁷ pt m ḥnw.s R^c*
- 3) *ḥr wb[n] im.s ḥ^c.n dd(w).n.f im mk h3t t ḥnkt³⁸ [k3w]*
- 4) *3pdw ḥt nbt nfrt w^cb(t) n k3 n Dsr m3^c-ḥrw*
- 5) *ḥwi³⁹ pt m ḥntyw [...] w3d [...] ⁴⁰df.s m sntr*
- 6) *in sš n ḥt sb3 [Sṯh]-m-ḥb in sš nds⁴¹ ʾḥ(-ms)*





Translation:

- 1) Coming of the scribe Ahmose, son of Iptah, to see
- 2) the temple of Djoser. He found it like heaven in its interior and Ra
- 3) rising in it. And then he said there, ‘Let it be caused that there come bread, beer,
[bulls],
- 4) birds and all good and pure things for the *ka* of Djoser, true of voice.
- 5) Let heaven send down⁴² myrrh [...] ⁴³and provide it with incense.
- 6) By the scribe and teacher, [Seth]emheb, and by the apprentice scribe Ah(mose).

³⁷ The author uses the same double stroke (∖) here as for *sy*, which normally substitutes for a double reed () but the meaning is clearly *mi*.

³⁸ The signs  may spell ‘*t*’ (‘bread’) or may be the abbreviations of ‘*t ḥnkt*’ (‘bread and beer’), but because of the lacuna that follows it is uncertain which is correct. Due to the formulaic nature of the text, however, one can assume that the text read ‘bread and beer’, and so if the two signs noted previously are a full version of the word for bread, then presumably the word ‘beer’ is spelled in the lacuna.

³⁹ See Gardiner (1957: 444-445 [A19, A25]) for discussion of the sign  in the word *ḥwi*. He notes that this sign is used in some papyri although the reason is uncertain, but that another sign, , is also used in some instances. It is difficult to be certain which sign is being used here as the hieratic is almost interchangeable: Černý (1935: 78[a]) uses  while Navrátilová (2007: 75) favours a reading of .

⁴⁰ Černý (1935: 78[a]) suggests filling this lacuna with    .

⁴¹ See also Fischer (1976) for readings of this title.

⁴² Taken from Navrátilová (2007: 76); see Wörterbuch (III: 46-48) for possible translations of *ḥwi*, including ‘to strike’ and ‘rain’.

⁴³ The meaning of *w3d* is unclear.

References:

Černý 1978: 78[a]

Wildung 1969: 66 [Dok. XVI.70.a]

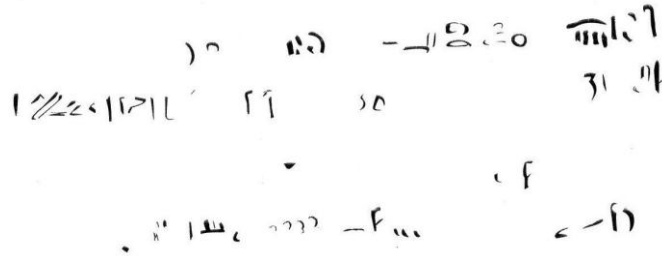
Navrátilová 2007: 74-76

Peden 2001: 61-62

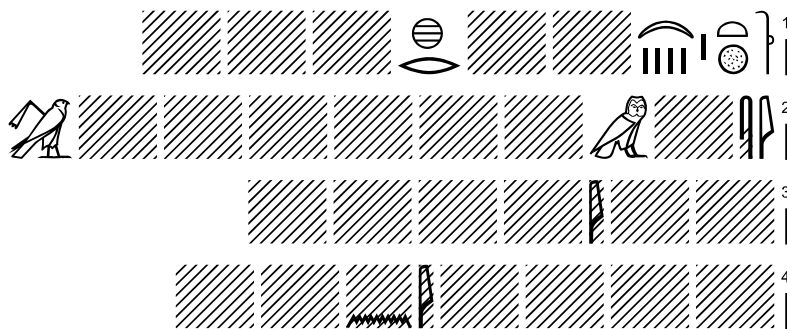
G05M09

Date: Thutmose III

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (Wall C (see plan 1b), 115cm from ground level)



(Navrátilová 2007: 85)



Translation:

Due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving tracing, it is not possible to create a transliteration of the text. The translation must, therefore, rely on that of Černý (1935: 80[d]):⁴⁴

‘Year 1, month 4 of Akhet, day 5, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre,⁴⁵ son of Re, Thutmose, may he live for ever!

Now his majesty was in the Southern city making memorials to his father Amenre,⁴⁶ and marvels for Harakhte, and ... his city; Atum who created [him], Lord of [Heliopolis] ... his

⁴⁴ The fuller nature of Černý’s translation shows that a much larger percentage of the text survived in the 1930s than is visible today. This acts as a reminder that the evidence in this catalogue is limited by what has survived.

⁴⁵ Thutmose III.

⁴⁶ Amun-Ra.

father who begot him, the divine god, self-generated; the Mighty Bull, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Atum ... the gods. By ... Ptahhotep.'

References:

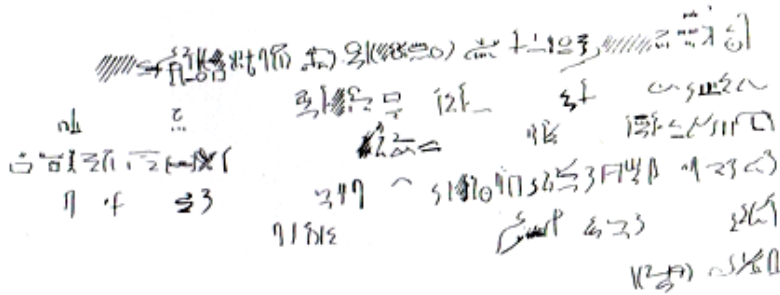
Černý 1935: 80[d]

Navrátilová 2007: 85-86

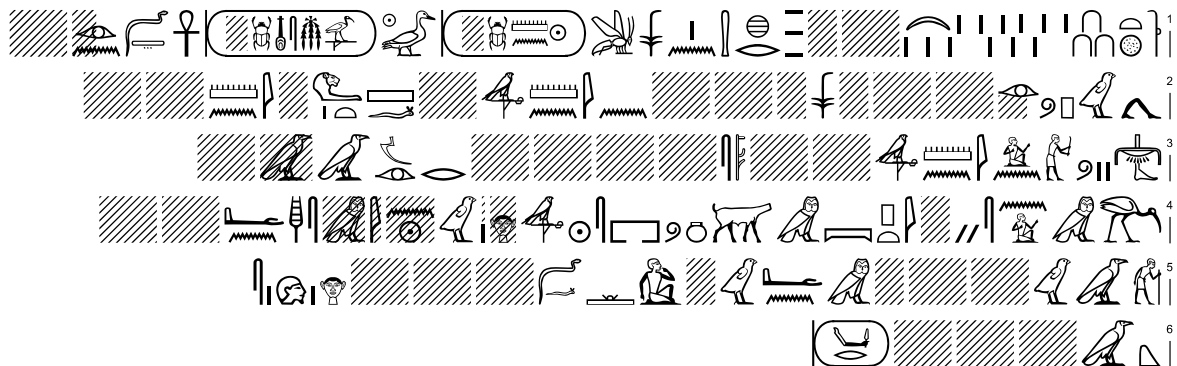
G05M10

Date: Thutmose III

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 87)



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 39 3bd 3 [...]*⁴⁷ *hr ḥm.n nsw-bit Mn-hpr-R*⁴⁸ *s3-R^c Dḥwty-ms-nfr-hpr[w] ḥnh d[t]*
ir.n [...]

2) *iw(t) pw ir[n ...] nsw [...]* *n'Imn [...].f ḥ^ct [...]* *Imn [...]*⁴⁹

3) *nby{w} n'Imn [...]* *r m33*⁵⁰ *[...]*

⁴⁷ Černý (1935: 80[e]) reads the date as 'day 13', as does Navrátilová (2007: 88-89).

⁴⁸ There is a small lacuna at the end of the cartouche, but the following cartouche confirms that the king is Thutmose III.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that the signs at the end of lines 2, 3 and 4 are, in fact, a part of another graffito and so have not been included in this transliteration (Navrátilová 2007: 88).

⁵⁰ Based on similar formulae in other graffiti, it is likely that the text preceding this phrase consists of the date and the titles of the graffitist (see, for example, GG05M07, G05M08).

4) *gm.n.i sy [m]i pt m hnw.s R^c [...] s^ch^c.n [...]*

5) *i3w [...] m ^cnw [...] df[.] hr⁵¹ tp.s*

6) *k3 [...] Dsr*

Translation:

1) Year 39, month 3 [... day 13?] under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheper (Thutmose III), Son of Ra, Djehutymes-Neferkheper[u], who lives forever. Doing/did [...]

2) Coming of the [...] royal⁵² [...] Amun, before [...] Amun [...]

3) goldsmith of Amun [...] to see [...]

4) I found it like heaven in its interior,⁵³ Ra⁵⁴ [...] then [...]



5) old age [...] ⁵⁵ upon its roof

6) [...] ⁵⁶ Djoser.

References:

Černý 1935: 80[e]

Navrátilová 2007: 87-89


⁵¹ Navrátilová (2007: 88) transcribes this as . It is unclear from the hieratic whether the  should be included or not.

⁵² Navrátilová (2007: 89) suggests that the author may have been a royal scribe.

⁵³ Note the first person pronoun. The majority of other graffiti in this corpus use the third person.

⁵⁴ Probably ‘Ra rising in it’.

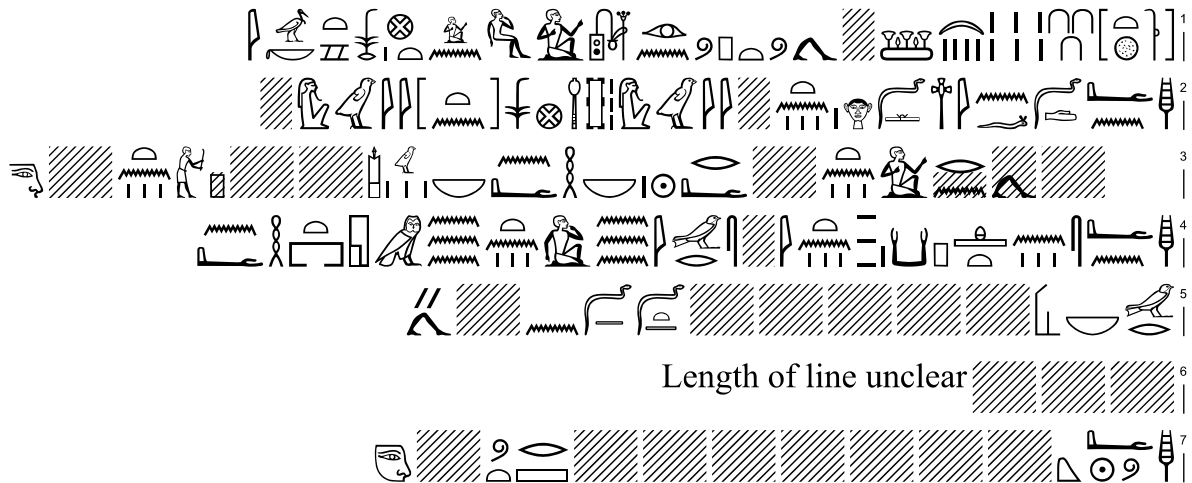
⁵⁵ It is possible that ^cnw may be translated ‘again’ but it is difficult to be sure (see Navrátilová (2007: 89)).

⁵⁶ Černý (1935: 80[e]) translates this section as ‘then [I said heaven] rains with myrrh, incense drips upon it ... Djoser’, but the tracing is not sufficiently preserved to confirm this version. Navrátilová (2007: 89) notes that  is ‘not translatable without a determinative and context’.

G05M11

Date: Thutmose III

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Based on Gunn MSS XIII.4.7)

Transliteration:⁵⁷

1) [ḥ3t-sp] 36 3bd 4 3ht [...] iwt pw ir.n ss ḥrd n niwt rsit B3ki

2) ḥḥ n dd.n.f ind ḥr.tn iw [p3]yw inbw ḥd nsyw⁵⁸ [...]

3) [...] rn.tn [...] rḥ nb ḥnḥ nbw Twnw [...].tn [...]

4) ḥnḥ.sn ḥtp k3w.tn swri.tn i(?) mw ḥwt-ntr ḥnḥ

5) wr nb⁵⁹ [...] dt [...]

⁵⁷ No tracing has survived of this graffito; the transliteration is based on that found in Gunn MSS XIII.4.7.

⁵⁸ Navrátilová (2007: 96) transliterates this as 'inbw ḥd rsiw' ('south of the White Walls'). Gunn's transliteration appears to show $\overline{\text{f}}$ and not $\overline{\text{t}}$, thus reading $\overline{\text{f}}[\text{p3}]yw$. It is possible that the original text reads as Navrátilová suggests.

⁵⁹ Gardiner (1957: 521) notes that $\overline{\text{d}}$ is used as an alternative both for $\overline{\text{t}}$ and for $\overline{\text{f}}$ but this does not throw any light on the meaning of this section.

6) [...]

7) *ḥꜥw* [...] *ršwt*

Translation:

- 1) Year 36, month 4 of Akhet [...] coming of the scribe, child of the southern city,⁶⁰ Baki,
- 2) and then he said, ‘Praise to you, those of the White Walls,⁶¹ kings [...]
- 3) your name [...] every day with the lords of Iunu⁶² [...]
- 4) with them your food offerings.⁶³ May you drink the water of the temple with [...]
- 5) great [...]
- 6) [...] joyful
- 7) lifetime [...] joy(?)

References:

Černý 1935: 81[i]

Navrátilová 2007: 96-97

Wildung 1969: 67 [Dok. XVI.70.d]

⁶⁰ Thebes (Wörterbuch: 211).

⁶¹ Although Navrátilová (2007: 96) translates this as ‘south of the White walls’, Černý (1935: 81[i]) writes ‘kings of the Memphite nome’. The grammatical construction seems a little strange but the intended meaning appears to be ‘those of the White Walls’, with a new phrase beginning with ‘kings’; the phrase *ind hr.k* addresses the gods, not kings, and so it is unlikely that the phrase here addresses the ‘kings’ referred to later in the line (see, for example, Bommas (1999: 34-35)).

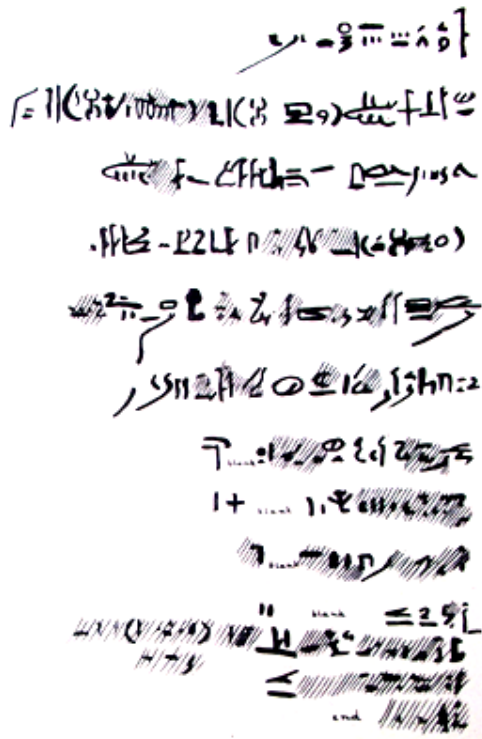
⁶² Probably Heliopolis, although, again, without the original text it is possible that the graffito actually read *iwnw šmꜥw* or the name of another place.

⁶³ Černý (1935: 81[i]) writes ‘may your kas be satisfied’. Navrátilová (2007: 97), however, chooses ‘your offerings’, and it seems more likely that this is correct.

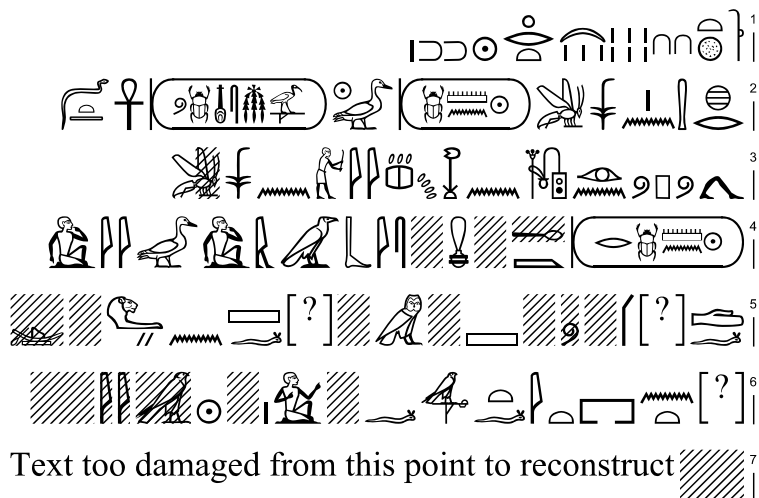
G05M12

Date: Thutmose III

Location: Memorial Temple of Sneferu, Meidum



(Petrie 1892: pl. xxxiv)



Transliteration:

1. *ḥ3t-sp 26 3bd 3 prt(?) sw(?) 21*⁶⁴
2. *ḥr ḥm-ntr nsw-bit Mn-ḥpr-R^c s3 R^c Dḥwty-msNfr-ḥprw ʿnh dt*
3. *iw(t) pw ir.n sš n ḥ3y n nsw-bit*
4. *Mn-ḥpr-R^c⁶⁵ [m3^c-]ḥrw [...] mi [...]s Ib3y S3y(?)*
5. *(d)d.f⁶⁶ [...s...] m [...] šf(?) n ḥ3ty [...]*
6. *nt(?) pr it.f[...] R^c [...]*⁶⁷
7. [...]
7. [...]

Translation:

1. Year 26, month 3, day(?) 21 of winter(?)
2. under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperra (Thutmose III), Son of Ra, Djehutymes-Neferkeheperu, who lives forever.
3. Coming of the scribe of measuring of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
4. Menkheperra, [true] of voice [...] like(?) [...] Ibay, Say(?)⁶⁹
5. He said [...]
6. of(?) the house of his father [...] Ra [...]
7. [...]
7. [...]

⁶⁴ Petrie's copy is very unclear at this point. Although the signs do not read *prt*, it is the most likely season based on what can be seen. The same is true of the sign for *sw*.

⁶⁵ Griffith (1892: 40) reads this cartouche as 'Thutmose I', but the signs clearly point to the name of Thutmose III.

⁶⁶ Although the text here appears to read simply '*d.f*', Griffith (1892: 41) has translated it as 'he said' and it is likely that this was the intention of the graffitist.

⁶⁷ Possibly '*R^c-Ḥr-3ḥty*' but this is not certain.

⁶⁸ At this point the text becomes too fragmentary to attempt to reconstruct it.

⁶⁹ '*S3y*' may be a name, or it may be an error on the part of a scribe. Alternatively, it may read '*s3 NN*' to denote the parentage of the graffitist.

⁷⁰ The rest of this line is not translatable.

References:

Griffith 1892: 41

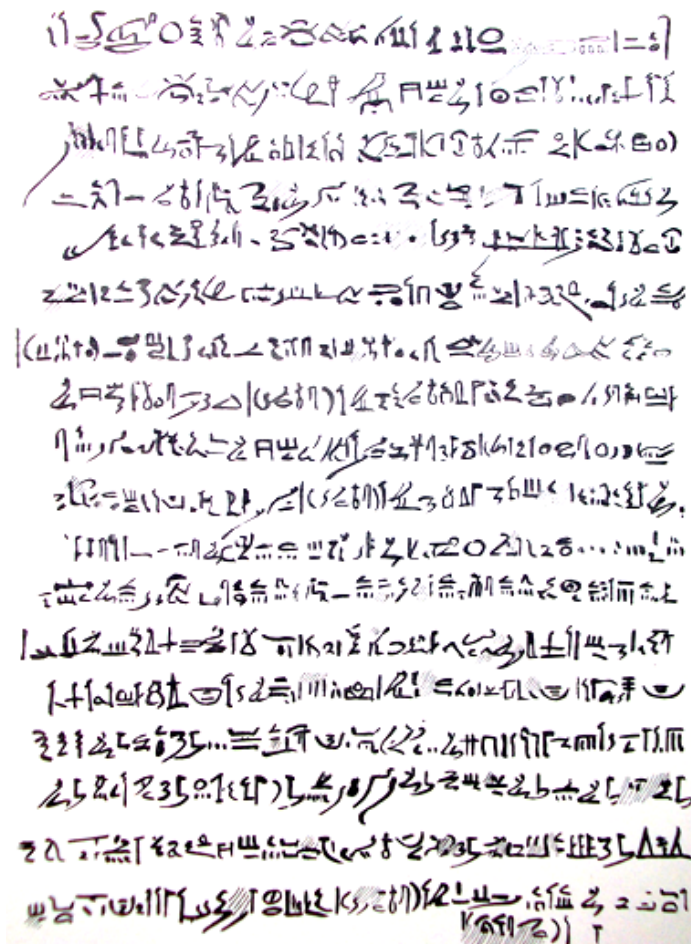
Petrie 1892: pl. xxxiv

G05M13

The copy of this text is very unclear in places and, without an original text for comparison, a translation is not always possible. Where sections are illegible, this has been marked in the hieroglyphic transcription with a question mark, and noted as lacunae in the transliteration and translation.

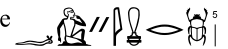
Date: Thutmose III



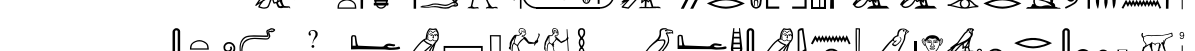

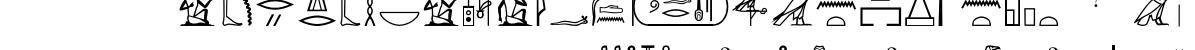



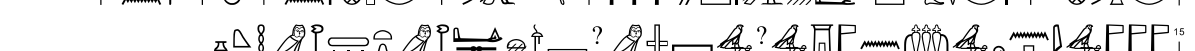

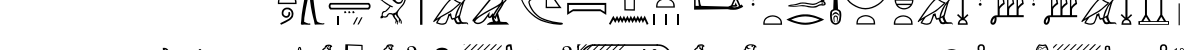
Location: Memorial Temple of Sneferu, Meidum



(Petrie 1892: pl. xxxiii)

 ¹
 ²
 ³
 ⁴

The rest of this line is illegible  ⁵



 ⁶
 ⁷
 ⁸
 ⁹
 ¹⁰
 ¹¹
 ¹²
 ¹³
 ¹⁴
 ¹⁵
 ¹⁶
 ¹⁷
 ¹⁸
 ¹⁹


Transliteration:

1. ḥ3t-sp 4l 3bd 4 šmw [sw] 22 ḥr ḥm.n ḥr k3 ḥ^cw m W^cst nbty
2. w3h nsyt tni mi R^c m pt nbw šḥm pḥty dsr ḥ^c [w ...] nsw-bit
3. Mn-ḥpr-R^c s3 R^c Dhwtj-ms-nfr-ḥprw ^cnh dt nhḥ ḥr st Hr m ^cnhw in ist ḥm.f
4. m k3 rnp[y ...]d m hry nfr n rnpt 20 tn

5. *hpr mi.f* [...]
6. *[T]tm(w) r km3 rmt(?)*⁷¹ *p3 Nb-r-Dr* [?] *k3 htp phty m tnw* [*p3*]
7. [...] *iw(t) pw ir.n. sš ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ-snb s3 sš hry-hb n ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ*
8. *Imn-msw r m33 hwt-ntr nfr*⁷² *Hr Snfrw gm.n.f s mi pt m*
9. *hnw.s Rʕ hr wbn(w) im.s ʕhʕ(.n) ʕntyw.f hwi pt m ʕndwt.s*⁷³
10. *m* [...] *tp-hwt nt {mr}*⁷⁴ *ntr nt Hr Snfrw dd.n.f i sš nb hry-hb*⁷⁵ *wʕb*⁷⁶
- 11.⁷⁷ [...] *rh* [...] *m sn n hsy*
12. *.tn ntrw.tn niwtyw.tn sms.tn i3wt n msw.tn krs.tw tn m st nt*
13. [...] *nt Pth rsy bin.f ph i* [...] *t3 mi dd htp di nsw Wsir*
14. *nb Ddw nb 3bdw Rʕ-Hr-3hty Itmw nb Twnw Imn-Rʕ nsw*
15. *ntrw Inpw hnt(y)-sh-ntr imy* [...] *nb imntt di.sn h3 m t h3 m hnkt*
16. *h3 m [k3w]*⁷⁸ *h3 3bdw h3 m htpw h3 dfʕw h3 m sntr h3 m mrht h3 m*
17. *mnh(?) h3 m* [...] *h3 m ht nbt nfrt* [...] *pn(?) pt km3 t3 in.tw(?)*
18. *hʕp[y] m tpht.f n k3 n hr Snfrw* [...] *hr it.f Wsir(?)*⁷⁹ *ntr ʕ3 nb t3-dsr*
19. [...] *Mrs-ʕnh*

Translation:

⁷¹ This word is very unclear. It appears to read  or similar, but this does not lead to a workable understanding; for this reason, the possible intended reading of  has been used, leading to a potential translation of ‘Atum created mankind’.

⁷² Possibly a determinative, or , although this is not clear from the text.

⁷³ Again, the signs are uncertain. The alphabetic signs that can be identified spell this word, but other signs in the middle of the word cannot be read, thus making the transcription and transliteration unsure. Possibly the word is ‘ʕnd’ (‘unguent’) or ‘ʕndw’ (‘jar’). The general meaning relates to heaven raining unguents and incense, even if the exact identity of the rain is unclear.

⁷⁴ Presumably this is meant to read ‘hwt’, but the sign is clearly ‘mr’.

⁷⁵ There appear to be extra signs at the end of this word, which may be extra determinatives.

⁷⁶ The sign at the end of this word is presumably a seated man determinative.

⁷⁷ Very little of this line can be reconstructed in any workable way, and so much of it has been left; Griffith (1892: 40) suggests ‘who reads this inscription, and all people who hear it’ to fill the unclear part but the intended hieroglyphic signs are not clear.

⁷⁸ This is the most likely reconstruction, based on the text that is usually found in the *htp-di-nsw* formula (see, for example, Northampton et al. 1908: pl. xxxiv)

⁷⁹ Based on the epithets, this is presumably the name of Osiris, although the hieratic signs do not clearly match this.

1. Year 41, month 4 of summer, [day] 22 under the majesty of the strong Horus, who rises in Thebes, Two Ladies,
2. enduring of kingship like Ra in the sky, Horus of Gold, powerful of strength, holy of appearances [...] King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
3. Menkheperra (Thutmose III), son of Ra, Djehutymes-Neferheperu, who lives forever and ever upon the seat of Horus of the living. Indeed, his majesty
4. as a young bull [...] as a beautiful youth of 20 years
5. made him exactly the same way (lit. made him like his second) [...]
6. Atum created mankind(?) The lord of all, [?] mighty at tenu(?)⁸⁰
7. [...] Coming of the scribe, Aakheperkara(sonb), son of the scribe and *hry-hb* of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I),
8. Amenmesu, to see the beautiful temple of Horus, Sneferu. He found it like heaven
9. inside it, Ra rising in it. And then its myrrh, the sky rains⁸¹ with its unguent⁸²
10. [...] ⁸³ upon the roof of the pyramid (temple) of Horus Sneferu. He said, ‘O every scribe, *hry-hb* and *w^cb*
11. [...] know(?) [...]
12. your gods, your local ones praise you, your offices are inherited for your children, you are buried in the necropolis of
13. [...], of Ptah-South-of-his-wall [...] ⁸⁴ the earth, saying, “An offering which the king gives to Osiris,

⁸⁰ There is no translation for this word that would make sense of this phrase.

⁸¹ ‘Rains’ is the most probable translation of *hwi* although the determinatives are ambiguous.

⁸² The exact translation of this phrase is unclear, although the intention is clearly to denote oils landing upon the roof of the temple.

⁸³ Possibly another form of unguent or oil. See also Spiegelberg (1917: 99), who suggests ‘es regnet der Himmel frische Myrrhen, er troepfelt Weihrauch auf das Dach des Tempels des Königs Snefru’.

⁸⁴ Possibly ‘after high age on’.

14. lord of Busiris, lord of Abydos, Ra-Horakhty, Atum, lord of Heliopolis, Amun-Ra,
king

15. (of) the gods, Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, [...],⁸⁵ lord of the West, [...] may
they give a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer,

16. a thousand of [oxen]⁸⁶ a thousand of fowl, a thousand of offerings, a thousand of
provisions, a thousand of incense, a thousand of oil, a thousand of

17. clothes, a thousand of [...],⁸⁷ a thousand of all good things [...] this sky, the earth
brings,

18. the Nile from his hole (source), for the *ka* of Horus Sneferu [...] alongside of his father
Osiris(?),⁸⁸ the great god, lord of the holy land

19. [...] Meresankh

References:

Griffith 1892: 40-41

Petrie 1892: pl. xxxiii

Wildung 1969: 142-143[Dok. XX.400.a]

⁸⁵ The next epithet(s) is not clear.

⁸⁶ This is the most likely to fill the lacuna.

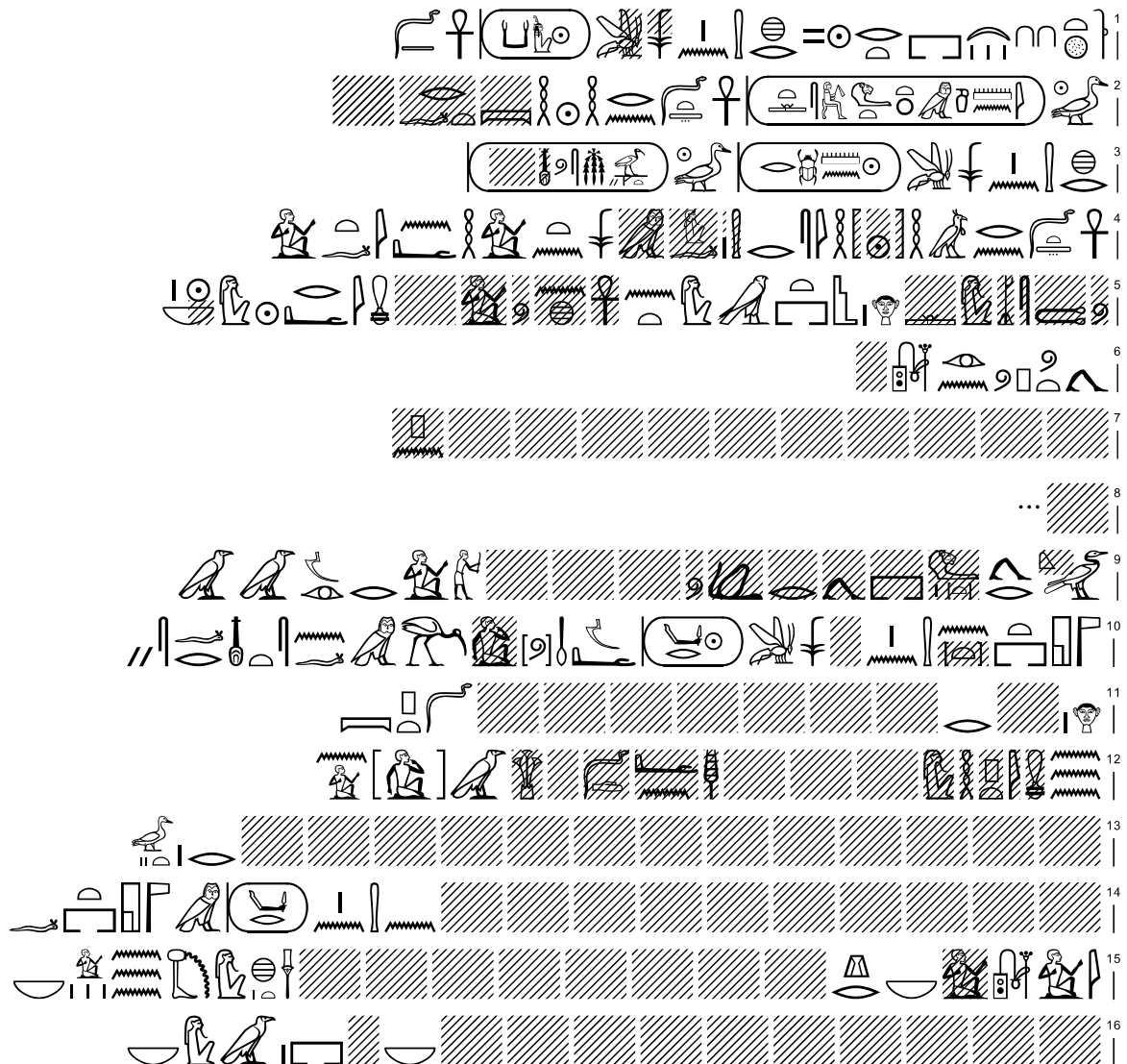
⁸⁷ Griffith (1892: 41) suggests 'herbs'.

⁸⁸ As noted in the transliteration, the epithets suggest that the god is Osiris.

G06M14⁸⁹

Date: Thutmose III - Hatshepsut

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall C (see plan 1b), 212cm from ground)





(Based on Gunn MSS XIII.4.3)

⁸⁹ Only two lines of the original text have survived, and so the transcription and transliteration are based on that of Gunn (Gunn MSS XIII.4.3.).


Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥ3t-sp 20 3bd 3 prt sw 2 ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit M3^ct-k3-R^c ^cnh dt*
- 2) *s3-R^c hnmt-Imn H^ct-špst ^cnh dt r nhḥ [...]*
- 3) *ḥr ḥm n nsw-bit Mn-ḥpr-R^c s3-R^c Dhwtj-ms{w}-nfr [...]*⁹⁰
- 4) *^cnh dt r nhḥ is r [ḥm.fm] nsw ḥn^c it(.f)*
- 5) *[wts] ḥr st Hr nt [^cnhw] mi R^c r^c nb*
- 6) *iwt pw ir.n sš [...]*
- 7) *[...pn]*
- 8) *[...]*
- 9) *^c[k] r [ḥ3t ... phw ...] Nḥt⁹¹ r m33*
- 10) *ḥwt-ntr n[t] ḥm n nsw-bit Dsr R^c m3^c ḥr[w] i gm.n.f st nfr sy*
- 11) *ḥr [...] r [...]d pt*
- 12) *mw [mi Pth ... ^ch^c.n dd ...⁹² ḥ]3.n.i*
- 13) *[...] r [...]*⁹³

⁹⁰ Gunn (MSS XIII.4.3) includes what appears to be  in the cartouche, leading to the conclusion that it contained the full nomen of Thutmose III, *Dhwtj-ms(w)-nfr-ḥprw*. This has not been included in the hieroglyphic transcription due to the lack of original text on which to base this assumption, but it is the most likely conclusion. On this basis, a second  suggested by Gunn is unlikely, if that is indeed what Gunn's intends.

⁹¹ The determinative suggests this reading of the word (see also Černý (1935: 80[f]) and Navrátilová (2007: 90)).

⁹² Probably *dd.n* (Navrátilová 2007: 90).

⁹³ It is very unclear from Gunn's transliteration which bird is depicted here. It may be , leading to a reading of 's3t' but, equally, it may be another sign and so a translation is not possible.

14) [...] *n ḥm n Dsr m ḥwt ntr.f*

15) *i sš nb hr[y-ḥb⁹⁴ ...] w^cb Shmt nb*

16) [...] *nb pr (ʕ)3⁹⁵ nb*

Translation:⁹⁶

1) Year 20, month 3 of peret, day 2 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkara (Hatshepsut), who lives forever

2) Son of Ra Khenemet-Amun-Hatshepsut, who lives forever and ever [...]

3) under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), Son of Ra, Djehutymes-Nefer[kheperu]

4) who lives forever and ever. Now [his majesty] of the king and (his) father,

5) [raised up] upon the seat of Horus(?) [of the living] like Ra every day.

6) Coming of the scribe [...]

7-8) [...]

9) provisions [...] Nakht to see

10) the temple of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser-Ra, true of voice. He found it beautiful

11) upon [...] roof/sky

12) water like Pt[ah ... and so then he said, 'Oh ...]

⁹⁴ Presumably the text here is the title *hry-ḥb*. This is consistent with Černý's translation which includes a list of individuals (Černý 1935: 80[f]).

⁹⁵ Probably an abbreviation of  (ʕ) (see Navrátilová (2007: 91)).

⁹⁶ Compare to the translation of Černý (1935: 80[f]) which, for the first 16 lines of the graffito, reads: 'Regnal year 20, Month 3 of *peret*, Day 2, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare, may he live forever and ever! Now his Majesty was... king with his (?) father, exalted on the Horus-throne of the Living, like Re, every day. The scribe(long gap), he who enters first and comes out last, Nakht (?), came to see the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the justified Zoser. I found it beautiful heaven..... water like Ptah..... Then he said: Would that I had..... of the Majesty of Zoser in his Temple..... O every scribe, every ritualist,..... [priest of] Sakhmet, all priests..... House of Horus'.

Of particular interest is the section which follows, for which there is no available transliteration. This part reads: 'Seshat, who made writing,..... in view of the scribe..... (follows a number of names, each preceded by 'in view of the scribe')..... and before all the staff of the school of... the Ennead, Nekhtwer (?), repeating life, possessor of honour'. This part suggests that the graffito was signed concurrently by, or on behalf of, several individuals.

13) [...]

14) [...] for the majesty of Djoser in his temple

15) [...] every scribe, *hr[y-ḥb]* [...] *w^cb* of Sekhemt, lord/every

16) [...] great house, lord

References:

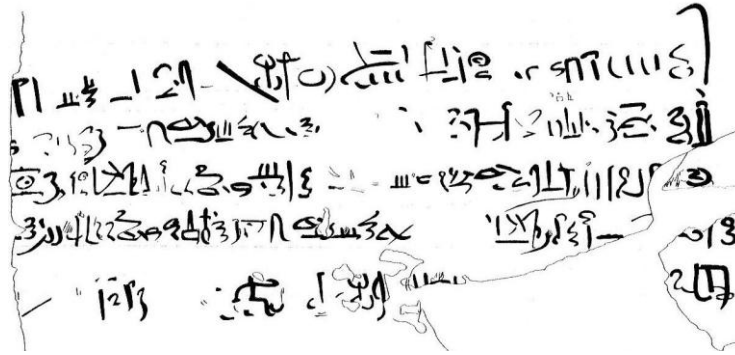
Černý 1935: 80[f]

Navrátilová 2007: 90-92

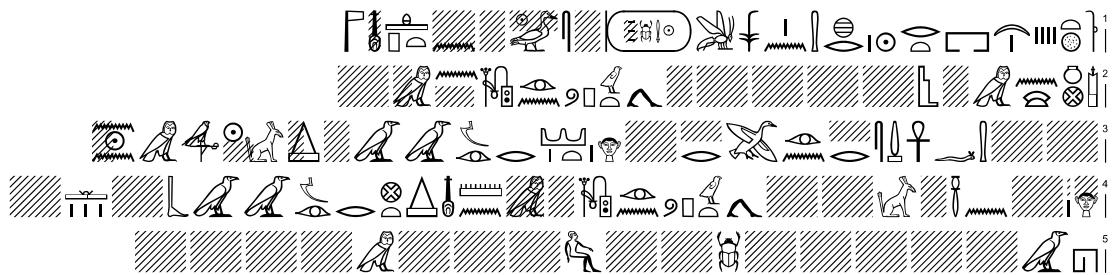
G07M15

Date: Amehotep II

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara





(Navrátilová 2007: 92)



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 4 3bd 1 prt*⁹⁷ *sw I*⁹⁸ *ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit ʕ3-ḥpr[w]-Rʕ [...]* *s3 Rʕ [Im]n-ḥtp*⁹⁹ [...] ¹⁰⁰*ntr*

⁹⁷ Gunn writes  (*3ht*) but the tracing clearly shows .

⁹⁸ Wildung (1969: 66) dates it to day 10.

⁹⁹ Černý (MSS XIII.4.5) reconstructs this as  (see also Navrátilová (2007: 93-94)).

¹⁰⁰ See Černý (1935: 80[g]), Navrátilová (2007: 94).

- 2) *Iwnw n ħ^c-m [W3st]¹⁰¹ [...] iwt pw ir.n sš.n [...] m [...] ¹⁰²*
3)) [...] *ħm.f^cnħ wd3 snb [...] ir.n p3 r¹⁰³ [...] ħr smit r m33 mr Sth R^c m nħħ*
4) *ħr [...] n mr Sth¹⁰⁴ [...] iwt pw ir.n sš [H^cw-]m-mn-nfr¹⁰⁵ r m33 b[i3yt¹⁰⁶ ...]*
5) *h3 [...] ħpr [...] m [...]*

Translation:

- 1) Year 4, month 1 of peret, day 1 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheper[u]ra [...], Son of Ra, [Amen]hotep (II), [the good] god (of)
- 2) Heliopolis, who appears in [Thebes ...]. Coming of the scribe [...]
- 3) [...] his majesty, life, prosperity, health [...] about to make¹⁰⁷ [...] upon the desert to see the pyramid¹⁰⁸ [...] forever(?)
- 4) upon [...] ¹⁰⁹ coming of the scibe [Kha]emnefer to see the [wonder ...]
- 5) (too fragmentary to reconstruct)

References:

Černý 1935: 80[g]

Navrátilová 2007: 92-94


Wildung 1969: 66 [Dok. XVI.70.c]



¹⁰¹ Černý (1935: 80[g]) and Navrátilová (2007: 93-94) reconstruct this as *W3st* (^g), although Navrátilová (2007: 94) notes that ‘the damaged writing complicates an assessment of how this toponym is spelled’.

¹⁰² Based on the phrases used in other graffiti (see, for example, G02M03, G04M05), it is possible that the name of the scribe was inserted here, and so may have originally read *iwt pw ir.n sš H^c-m-mn-nfr* (based on the probable reconstruction of his name, see footnote below).

¹⁰³ Compare with Gunn's suggested reconstruction: (Gunn MSS XIII.4.5).

¹⁰⁴ See Gunn (MSS XIII.4.5) who suggests .

¹⁰⁵ Černý (1935: 80[g]) reconstructs the name as Kha'emmenfer, as does Navrátilová (2007: 93-94), who transcribes it as  (xa-m-mn-nfr). Wildung (1969: 66) writes it '*H^cj-m-mn-nfr*'.

¹⁰⁶ Gunn (MSS XIII.4.5) writes ; Navrátilová (2007: 93-94) transcribes this word as .

¹⁰⁷ Based on Navrátilová (2007: 94).

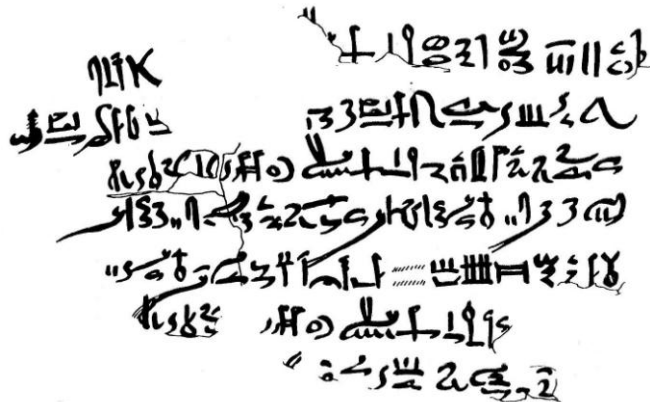
¹⁰⁸ The names of Seth and Ra can be seen, but it is impossible to fully translate the signs that appear at the end of this line. A reference to a pyramid is, however, clear, as in the previous line.

¹⁰⁹ Again, it is difficult to make sense of the signs that have been reconstructed in this section (see Navrátilová (2007: 94)).

G08M16

Date: Amenhotep II - Thutmose IV¹¹⁰

Location: Memorial Temple of Sahura, Abusir (possibly southern part of the temple)¹¹¹



(Navrátilová 2007: 51)



Transliteration:

1) *h3t-sp 2 3bd 3 3ht <sw> 7 hr hm.n nsw-bit [...] nh wd3 snb*

2) *iwt pw ir.n sš Imn-m-h3t [...] n-ti-mn-ti*¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Megally (1981: 224, 230) notes the similarities in script to another graffito, dated the reign of Thutmose III, which supports the dating of this text to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (see also Navrátilová (2007: 51)).

¹¹¹ The location within the temple has been suggested by Navrátilová (2007: 51).

¹¹² Possibly *imn-m-h3t s3 sš nti-mnti* (see Megally (1981: 229)). Navrátilová (2007: 52) also suggests that this should read '*sš Imn-m-h3t s3 sš nti-mnti*' ('the scribe Amenemhat, son of the scribe Antimenti') (see also above, G05M08, for comparison).

3) *r m33 t3 ḥwt-ntr nt ḥm n nsw-bit S3ḥw-R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

4) *gm.n.f sy nfr ḥr ib.f r 3t wrt sy m ḥr.f*

5) *mi t3 pt sšp i^cḥ ḥ^c.n dd.n.f nfr.wy*

6) [...] ¹¹³ *k3 ḥm n nsw-bit S3ḥ[w]-R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

7) [...] *n3 n k^cw 3pd[w ...]*

Translation:

1) Year 2, month 3 of Akhet, <day> 7 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [...] life, prosperity, health.

2) Coming of the scribe Amenemhat, [son of the scribe(?)] Antimenti,

3) to see this temple of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahura, true of voice.

4) He found it beautiful in his heart, it was very great in his eyes (lit. face)

5) like heaven, made bright (by) the moon.¹¹⁴ And so he said, ‘How beautiful is

6) [the temple of(?)] the *ka* of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sah[u]ra, true of voice.

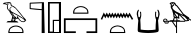
7) [...] of bulls, fowl [...] ¹¹⁵

References:

Megally 1981: 227-229

Navrátilová 2007: 51-53

Peden 2001: 60

¹¹³ Possibly  (*t3 ḥwt ntr nt k3 ...*) (see Megally (1981: 229), Navrátilová (2007: 52)).

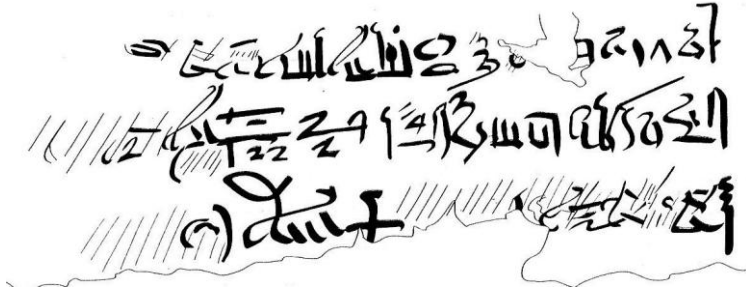
¹¹⁴ See Navrátilová (2007: 52) who translates this as ‘as heaven lit in white by the moon’. Peden (2001: 60) writes ‘as heaven when the moon is bright’. Both versions are possible.

¹¹⁵ Presumably this is a shortened version of the offering formula found in other graffiti (for example G05M13).

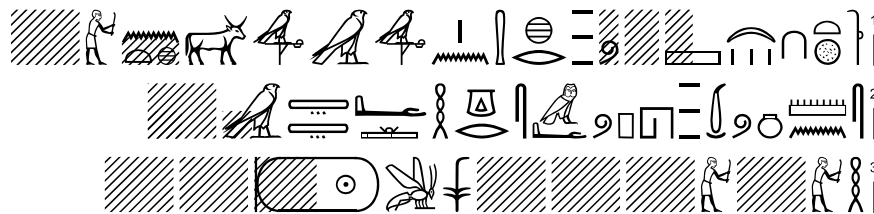
G09M17

Date: Amenhotep III

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 95)



Transliteration:

1) *h3t-sp 10 3bd 3 š[mw] <sw> 3 hr hm.n Hr k3 [nht ...]*

2) *smnw hpw m-ʿ sgrh twy Hr(?) [...]*

3) *h[...]¹¹⁶ nsw-bit [...]*



Translation:

1) Year 10, month 3 of sh[emu], <day> 3/13¹¹⁷ under the majesty of Horus, strong bull

[...]

2) who supports the law, who makes the two lands calm. Horus(?) [...]

¹¹⁶ Possibly *hwi* ('who smites'), although it is impossible to be sure given the signs that remain.

¹¹⁷ Navrátilová (2007: 95) translates this as 'day 3' while Černý (1935: 81[h]) suggests 'day 13'. Interestingly Navrátilová transcribes it as 'e' which suggests that the dating is, as Černý suggests, day 13. It is, of course, also possible that the e is a part of the word *sw* (although this does beg the question, where is the determinative ☉ which is usually used). Gunn (MSS XIII.4.10) writes  but adds  as a possible inclusion, leaving it open as to whether the day is 3 or 13.

3) [...] King of Upper and Lower Egypt [...]

References:

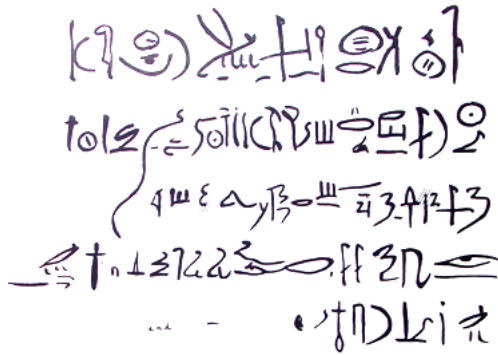
Černý 1935: 81[h]

Navrátilová 2007: 95-96

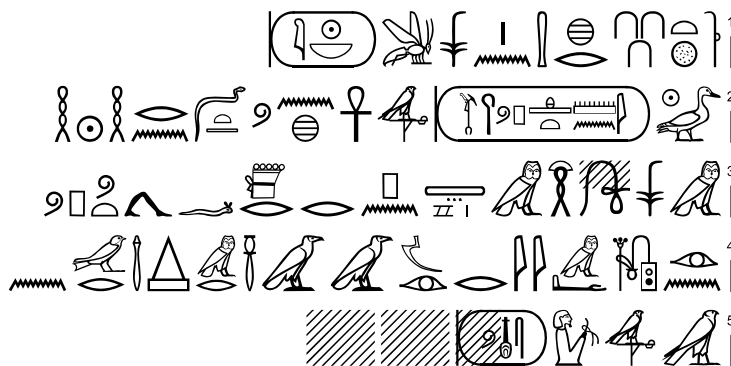
G09M18

Date: Amenhotep III

Location: Memorial Temple of Sneferu, Meidum



(Petrie 1892: pl. xxxvi[xvii])



Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥ3t-sp 30 ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit Nb-M3^ct-R^c*
- 2) *s3 R^cImn-ḥtp{w}¹¹⁸ ḥk3 W3st ^cnh{w} dt r nhḥ*
- 3) *m nsw w3ḥ¹¹⁹ m t3 pn r dr.f iwt pw*
- 4) *ir.n sš M^cy r m33 mr¹²⁰ ʿ3 wr n*

¹¹⁸ There appears to be an unnecessary *w* here, as can again be seen later in the line at the end of '^cnh'.

¹¹⁹ This word is difficult to interpret. It is likely that the intended word here was an abbreviated form of '*w3ḥ*' (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) meaning 'to endure'. Griffith (1892: 41) writes 'as king established' while Peden (2001: 66) opts for 'a beneficent king'.

¹²⁰ The sign 𓏏 here is unclear but it must be assumed that the intention was to write '*mr*' ('pyramid').

5) *Hr Snfr*[w ...]

Translation:

- 1) Year 30 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatra,
- 2) Son of Ra, Amenhotep (III) Ruler of Thebes, who lives forever and ever
- 3) as a king who endures¹²¹ in this entire land. Coming of
- 4) the scribe May to see the very great pyramid of
- 5) Horus Snefer[u ...]

References:

Peden 2001: 66

Griffith 1892: 41

Petrie 1892: pl. xxxvi[xvii]

Rowe 1931: 45

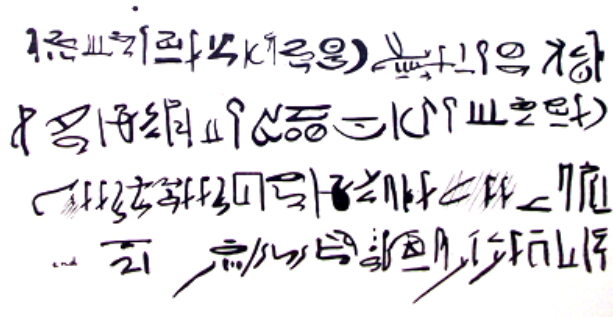
Wildung 1969: 143-144 [Dok. XX.140.b]

¹²¹ Possibly 'in enduring kingship'. The grammar here is unclear. Rowe (1931: 45) translates it as 'may he live forever as a beneficent king' (see also Peden (2001: 66)).

G09M19

Date: Amenhotep III

Location: Memorial Temple of Sneferu, Meidum



(Petrie 1892: pl. xxxvi[xviii])



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 30 ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit Nb-M3^ct-R^c s3'Imn ḥtp M3^ct*¹²²

2) *'Imn-ḥtp ḥk3*¹²³ *-W3st nb nḥt ḥk3 3wt-ib mr(w)*

3) *msdy isft rdit h3y t^cy(.f)*

4) *ḥr st it.f smn iw^c{w}t.f*¹²⁴ *[m] t3*

¹²² This graffito and the previous one were both written on the same monument in the same year, which does beg the question of whether they were written at the same time.

¹²³ It is unclear what sign follows ḥ. It may be Δ, which would fit with the word ḥk3 but the sign is ambiguous.

¹²⁴ This appears to be an unusual spelling of iw^ct, although it is difficult to be sure if the signs which have here been interpreted as 𓂏 are, in fact, this sign. The text is ambiguous, but the meaning of the word is clear.

Translation:

- 1) Year 30 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatira, Son of Amun who satisfies Maat,¹²⁵
- 2) Amenhotep (III), ruler of Thebes, Lord of Strength, Ruler of Joy,¹²⁶ who loves¹²⁷
- 3) the one who hates lies, who puts¹²⁸ (his) male offspring
- 4) on the seat¹²⁹ of his father,¹³⁰ who establishes his inheritance [in] the land.

References:

Peden 2001: 66-67

Griffith 1892: 41

Petrie 1892: pl. xxxvi[xviii]

¹²⁵ Griffith (1892: 41) translates this section as ‘son of Amun, satisfied <with> Maat’.

¹²⁶ See Griffith (1892: 41) for this suggestion.

¹²⁷ Probably ‘who loves him’ (Griffith 1892: 41).

¹²⁸ Lit. ‘who causes to descend’.

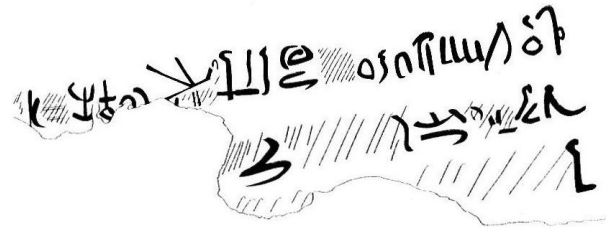
¹²⁹ Griffith (1892: 41) writes ‘placing the male offspring upon the seat’. Peden (2001: 66) writes ‘causing the male offspring to sit upon the seat’. In the absence of a word that can be translated as ‘to sit’, Griffith’s more literal translation seems appropriate, although the meaning is the same in both versions.

¹³⁰ Peden (2001: 67) suggests that if, as appears to be the case, the word *it* is followed by a divine determinative (𐎃) then the implication is that this part of the text refers to Amenhotep III and his son, Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten).

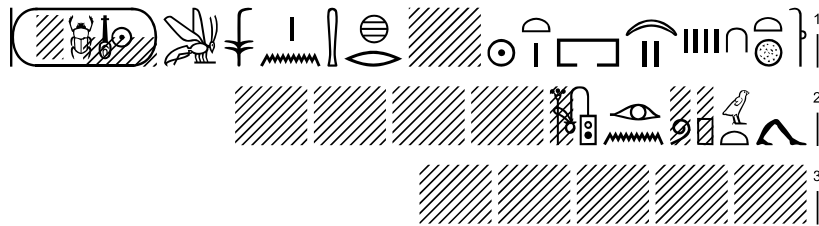
G10M20

Date: Akhenaten¹³¹

Location: South chapel of Djoser, Saqqara



(Navrátilová 2007: 97)



Transliteration:

1) *ḥ3t-sp 14 3bd 2¹³² prt sw [...] ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit Nfr-ḥpr[w]-R^c[-w^c-n-R^c(?)]*¹³³

2) *iwt* $p[w]$ *ir.n* *sš* [...]

3) [...]

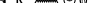
Translation:

1) Year 14, month 2 of peret, day [...] under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower

Egypt, Neferkheper[u]ra[-waenra(?)] (Akhenaten) [...]

¹³¹ This graffito is dated to year 14 of his reign, which places it later than the point at which Amenhotep IV took on the new name of Akhenaten.

¹³² Navrátilová (2007: 98) writes ‘month 4’ despite transcribing the text as ‘ Π ’. Černý (1935: 81[j]) writes ‘month 2’.

¹³³ The cartouche of Akhenaten normally reads thus and so it is possible that the remaining signs were fitted into the lacuna to read  or similar.


2) Coming of the scribe [...] ¹³⁴

3) [...]

References:

Černý 1935: 81[j]

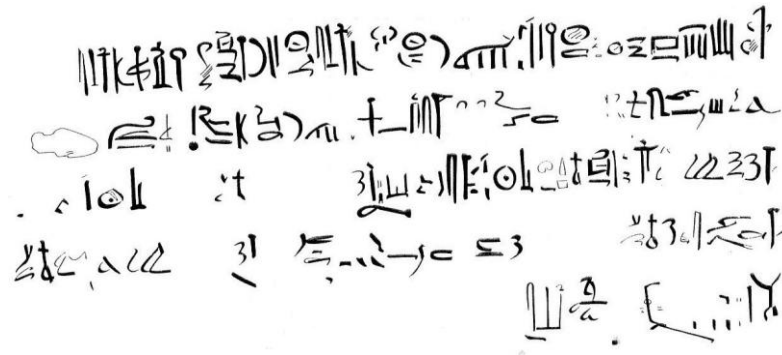
Navrátilová 2007: 97-98

¹³⁴ Navrátilová (2007: 98) suggests that  can be identified in this line as well, which would imply that the text followed the usual formula; ‘coming of the scribe N to see ... he found it ...’, although whether there is enough space in the lacuna to fit this has not been confirmed. Černý (1935: 81[j]) also includes this sign, writing ‘I found it’ (note the use of the first person pronoun, which cannot be confirmed).

G12M21

Date: Tutankhamun

Location: North chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall C (see plan 1a), 57cm from ground level)



(Navrátilová 2007: 77)



Transliteration:


1) *ḥ3t-sp4 3bd 4 šmw sw 3¹³⁵ ḥr ḥm nsw-bit Nb-ḥpr(w)-R^c ḥnh wd3 snb s3-R^c Twt-ḥnh-Imn*
ḥk3 Twnw-šm^cw ḥnh wd3 snb



2) *iwt pw ir.n sš T3[y ...] r m33 ḥwt-ntr n nsw-bit Dsr m3^c-ḥrw dd.n[f ...]*

3) *im m-^cph¹³⁶ imnty Mn-nfr ḥr Wsir šms [...] k3.k¹³⁷ m [...] [nfr] Wsir [...]*

4) *ir ir.k sy m nfr [...] m [...]w n [...] im [...] ph i3w nfr*

¹³⁵ There is some discrepancy about which day is recorded here; 2 and 4 are both suggested, while the text itself seems to read '3' (see Navrátilová (2007: 77-78, Gunn tracing BIB), Černý (1935: 78[b])).

¹³⁶ A small lacuna here presumably held a determinative, although it may also have been a  to denote the first person.

¹³⁷ There appears to be a  sign below , suggesting that the intention is to write 'k3.k' although it is not included in Navrátilová (2007: 77).

5) *mi* [...] *ink* [...]

Translation:

1) Year 4, month 4 of Shemu, day 3, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperura, life, prosperity, health, Son of Ra, Tutankhamun, Ruler of Thebes, life prosperity, health.

2) Coming of the scribe Tja[y...] to see the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser, true of voice. [He] said [...]

3) behold, may (I) reach western Memphis. Osiris, may (I) follow your ka in [... good]
Osiris.¹³⁸

4) You make it good [...] reach good old age

5) like [...] I [...]

References:

Černý 1935: 78[b]

Navrátilová 2007: 77-79

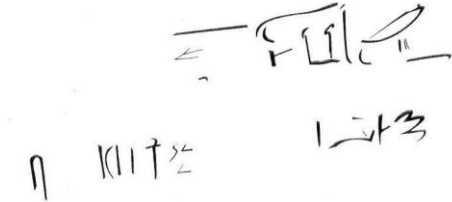
Wildung 1969: 67 [XVI.70.e]

¹³⁸ Černý (1935: 78[b]) translates this as ‘O Osiris, may I serve thy ka after a good [burial]...’.

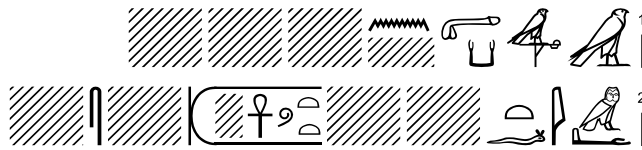
G12M22

Date: Tutankhamun

Location: South chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall A (see plan 1b), 80cm from ground)



(Navrátilová 2007: 99)



Transliteration:

1) *Hr k3 n[^{ht}¹³⁹ ...]*

2) *m-¹⁴⁰ it[.f¹⁴¹ ...] Twt-^{nh}[...]*

Translation:

1) Horus, [strong] bull [...]

2) from [his] father [...] Tutankh[amun ...]

References:

Černý 1935: 81[k]

Navrátilová 2007: 98-99

¹³⁹ Černý (1935: 81[k]) suggests ‘strong’ (*nht*) for the beginning of the lacuna.

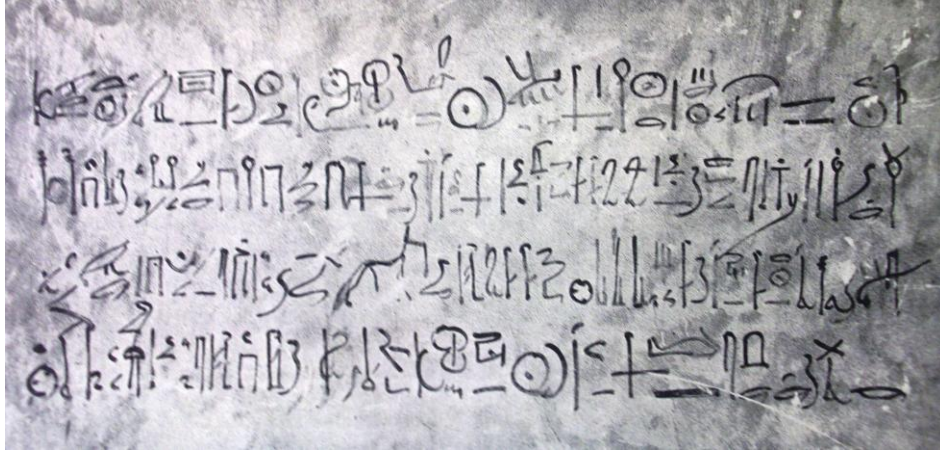
¹⁴⁰ Could also read *mk* (‘behold’).

¹⁴¹ See Navrátilová (2007: 99), Černý (1935: 81[k]).

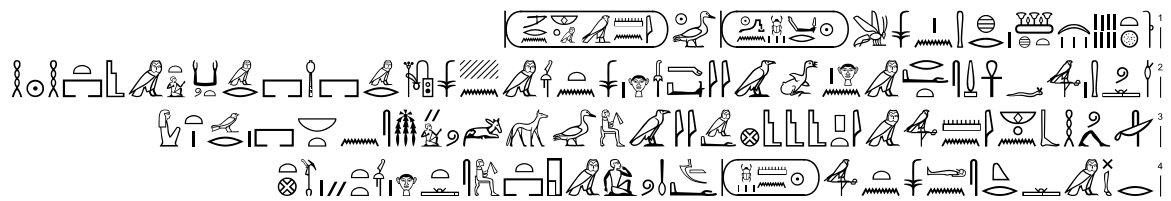
G14T23

Date: Horemheb

Location: KV43, Valley of the Kings



(Carter and Newberry 1904: fig. 7)



Transliteration:

- 1) ḥ3t-sp 8 3bd 3 3ḥt <sw> 1 ḥr ḥm.n nsw-bit Dsr-ḥprw-R^c Stp-n-R^c s3 R^c Hr-m-ḥb mr(y)-
n-Imn
- 2) wḏ ḥm.f^cnh wḏ3 snb rdit m ḥr n t3y-ḥw ḥr imn¹⁴² n nsw sš nsw imy-r pr ḥḏ imy-r k3wt
m st nhḥ
- 3) sšmw ḥb n Imn m Ipt-swt M^cy3 s3 Twy ms.n nbt-pr Wrt
- 4) r whm krs n nsw Mn-ḥprw-R^c m3^c-ḥrw m ḥwt špst¹⁴³ ḥr imn{t}ty W3st

¹⁴² Helck (Urk. IV: 1170) suggests .

¹⁴³ One would expect (*špsy*).

Translation:

- 1) Year 8, month 3 of Akhet, <day> 1 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoserkheperura-Setepenra, Son of Ra, Horemheb Beloved of Amun.
- 2) His majesty, life, prosperity, health, commanded to cause the fanbearer on the right hand of the king, the royal scribe, the overseer of the treasury, the overseer of works in the place of eternity,
- 3) leader of the festival of Amun in Ipetsut (Karnak), Maya, son of Iwy, born of the lady of the house, Weret,
- 4) to repeat¹⁴⁴ the burial of King Menkheperura (Thutmose IV), true of voice, in the noble house on western Thebes.

References:

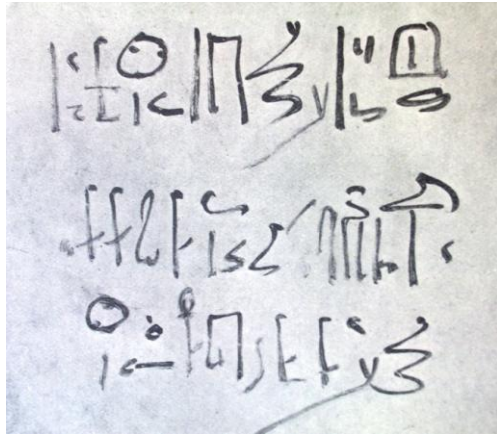
- Carter and Newberry 1904: 33-34, fig. 7
- Hall 1986: 5
- Hari 1964: pl. lx
- Romer 1981: 190
- Urk. IV: 2170-2171

¹⁴⁴ The meaning is clear; that Maya was employed to restore the burial after it had been disturbed (see, for example, Hall (1986: 5) and Romer (1981: 190) who write 'to renew the burial').

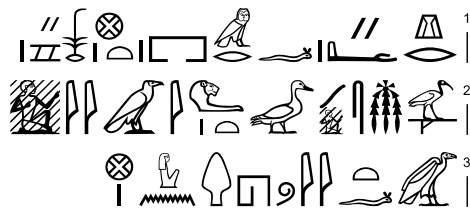
G14T24

Date: Horemheb

Location: KV 43, Valley of the Kings



(Carter and Newberry 1904: fig. 8)



Transliteration:

1) *hry-^cf imy-r pr niwt rsy*

2) *Dhwti-ms s3 H3ti3y*

3) *mwt.f Ywh n niwt*

Translation:

1) His assistant, steward of the Southern City

2) Djehutymes, son of Hatiay,

3) his mother Yeweh of the city.

References:

Carter and Newberry 1904: 34, fig. 8

Hall 1986: 5

Hari 1964: pl. lx

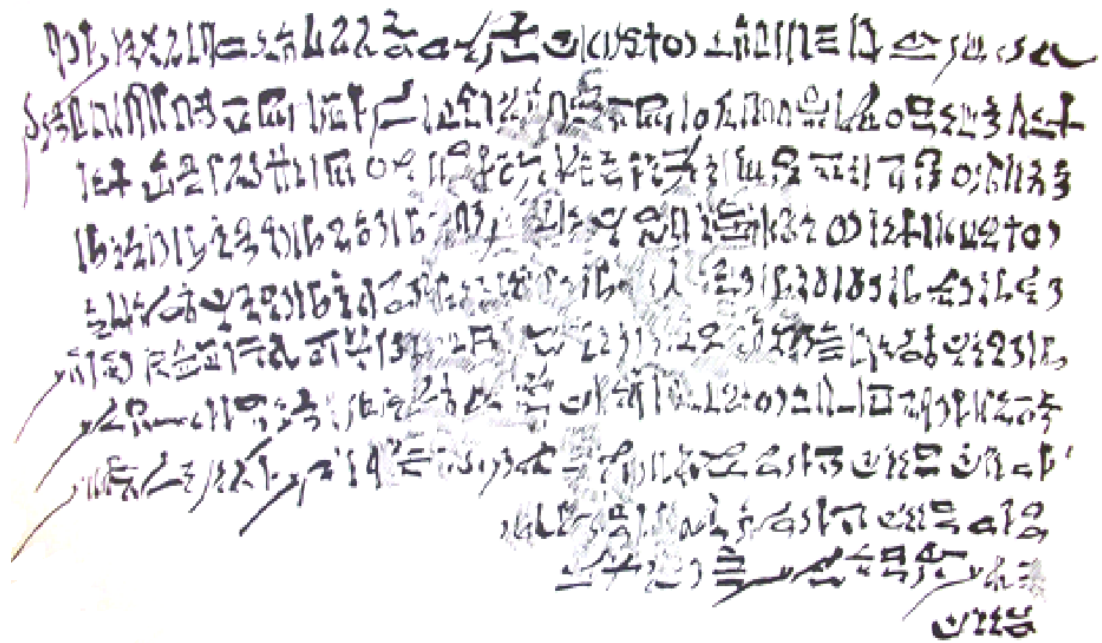
Romer 1981: 190

Urk. IV: 2171

G00T25¹⁴⁵

Date: Late Eighteenth Dynasty¹⁴⁶

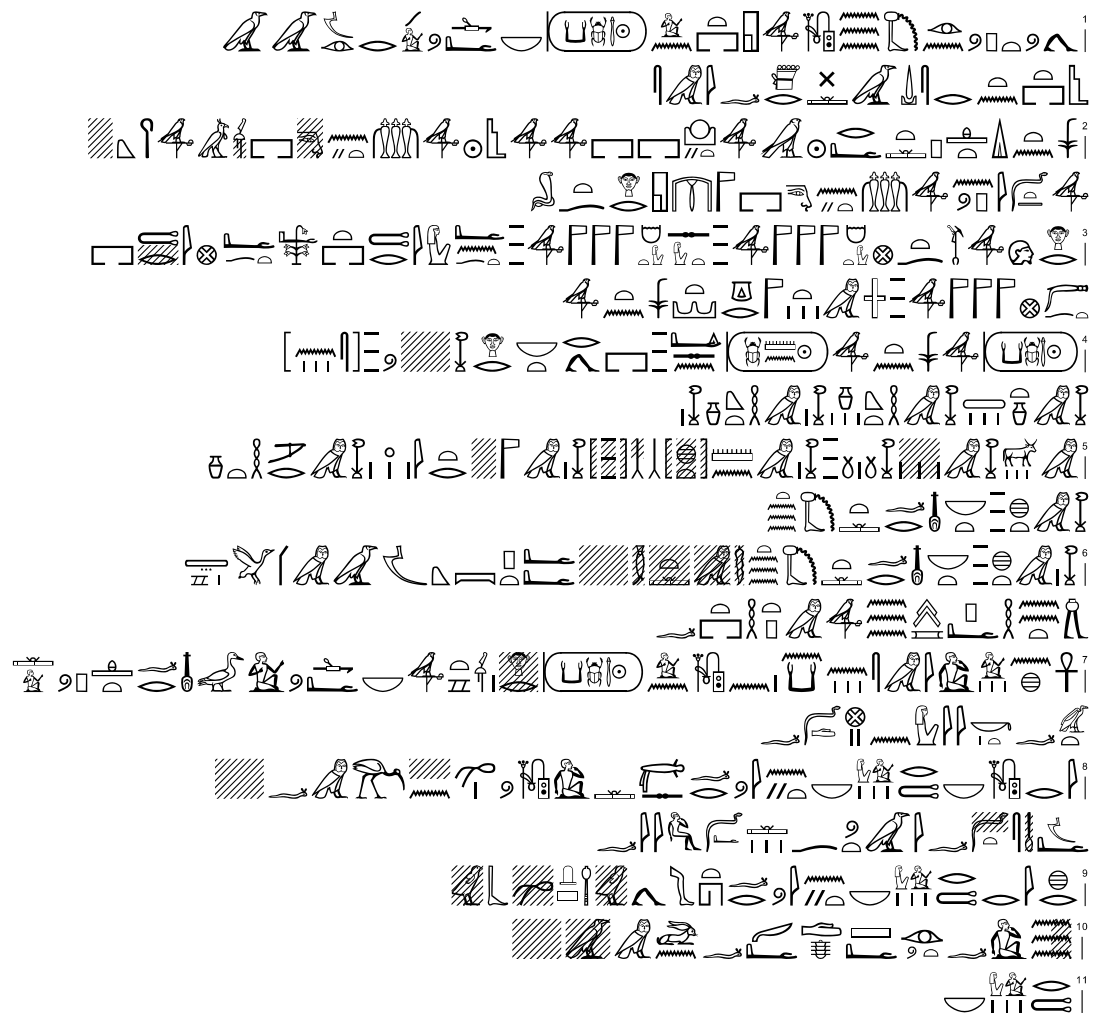
Location: TT504, Deir el-Bahri



(Marciniak 1981: pl. xxxiv)

¹⁴⁵ The text in this graffito is of poor quality and it is often difficult to ascertain which signs are intended. For this reason the transliteration of Marciniak (1981: 283-284) has been used as a guide and, in places where no better suggestion can be made, has been followed.

¹⁴⁶ The date of this graffito has been questioned. Marciniak (1981: 288) dates the text paleographically to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Philips (1986: 79, note. 25), however, points out that Marciniak's assumption of a Nineteenth Dynasty date is based on incorrect assumptions and, instead, supports an Eighteenth Dynasty date. Peden (2001: 73) agrees with Philips' suggestion that the text dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.



Transliteration:

- 1) *īwt pw īr.n w^cb sš ḥwt n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c Nb-w^cw r m33 st tn r sd3 dr.f im.s*
- 2) *ḥtp(t) di nsw R^c-Hr-3ḥty Wsir ḥnty imntyw ḥk[3] dt ʿInpw ḥnty šḥ-ntr Ḥwt-Hr(t)*¹⁴⁷
- 3) *ḥr[y]-tp W3st ḥmt ntrw st ntrw ʿnt it[r](t) šm^ct it[r](t) mḥt[y] ntrw imwt (iw)grt ntr nsw*
- 4) *ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c nsw Mn-ḥpr-R^c di.sn pr nbt ḥr ḥ3 [...] w[.sn]*¹⁴⁸ *ḥ3 m t ḥ3 m ḥnkt ḥ3 m ḥnkt ḥ3*
- 5) *m k3w ḥ3 m [...] ḥ3 <m> šsw ḥ3 m mnḥwt ḥ3 m [s]ntrw ḥ3 m mrḥt ḥ3 m ḥt nbt nfrt w^cbt*

¹⁴⁷ Marciniak (1981: 285) reads this as 'Hathor' (*Ḥwt-Hr*) which appears to be correct despite the unusual determinative.


¹⁴⁸ Marciniak (1981: 284, 286) suggests that this lacuna may be filled with giving a translation for this section of 'pour qu'ils donnent tout sur leurs autels d'offrandes'. This seems likely although it cannot be confirmed.

- 6) *h3 m ht nbt nfrt w^cbt n[dmt bnrt ...] ^cwy pt km3 t3wy innt h^cpy m ptht.f*
- 7) *^cnhw im.sn n k3 n sš n ^c3-hpr-k3-R^c [hr] imnty Nb-w^cw s3 Nfr-htp(w) mwt.f Kty n iwt
dd.f*
- 8) *ir sš nb rmtt nb nty iw.f r mhs sšw n gm.f[...] m3^c-hrw sdt.f i3wt d^cy.f*
- 9) *hr ir rmtt nb nty iw.f r th wd¹⁴⁹ (i)b[w]*
- 10) *.f ir.tw s^cd.f wnm [3 ...]¹⁵⁰*
- 11) *rmtt nb*

Translation:

- 1) Coming of the w^cb and scribe of the temple of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Nebwaw, to see this place to take recreation to his limit within it.¹⁵¹
- 2) Offering which the king gives <to> Ra-Horakhty, <to> Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, ruler of eternity, <to> Anubis, foremost of the divine chapel, <to> Hathor
- 3) who is in Thebes, <to> the wives of the gods, <to> the divine women, <to> Anet, <to> the southern residence, <to> the northern residence,¹⁵² <to> the gods who are in the divine necropolis, <to> the king
- 4) Aakheperkara, <to> the king Menkheperra (Thutmose III), that they may give everything on their [...] a thousands of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of beer, a thousand

¹⁴⁹ One might expect *wd p3* here. The signs are unclear in the text, and so Marciniak's spelling of '*wd*' has been followed.

¹⁵⁰ Marciniak (1981: 285-286) suggests reading the end of the line as , which he translates as 'il sera déteste'.

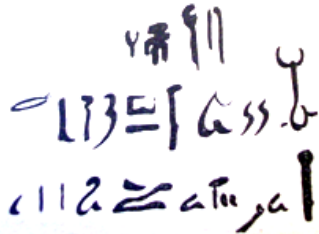
¹⁵¹ Marciniak (1981: 285) suggests 'pour voir cette place afin d'y être guéri complètement' ('to see this place in order to be healed completely') which is likely the general sense of this phrase.

¹⁵² Marciniak (1981: 285) suggests '[à la déesse] de la Résidence du Sud ... [et à la déesse] de la Résidence du Nord', noting that the Southern Residence is el-Kab and the Northern Residence is Buto.

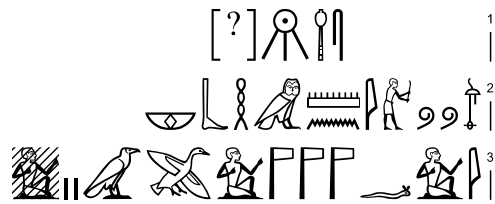
G00M26

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty

Location: Pyramid Complex of Pepi II, Saqqara



(Jéquier 1936: fig. 67)



Transliteration:

- 1) *shd*
- 2) *hmww Imn-m-ḥb*
- 3) *i[w].f(?) ntrw p3y.i(?)*

Translation:

- 1) Inspector
- 2) of craftsmen, Amenemheb
- 3) He is(?) (the rest of this phrase is untranslatable)

References:

Jéquier 1936: 66, fig. 67

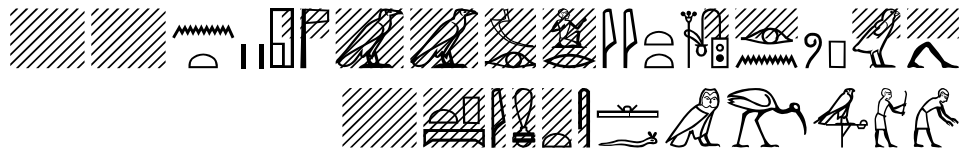
G00M27

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 67)



(Navrátilová 2007: 34)



Transliteration:

1) *iw[t]*¹⁵⁹ *pw ir.n. sš Tty [r m33]*¹⁶⁰ *hwt-ntry nt [...]*

2) *ḳdw*¹⁶¹ *gm(.n).f[st mi pt*¹⁶² *...]*

Translation:


1) Coming of the scribe Teti [to see] the two temples of [...]

2) the builder. He found [them like heaven ...]

References:

Navrátilová 2007: 34-35

Helck 1965: 118-119

¹⁵⁹ Helck (1965: 119) transcribes this as ‘ ’.

¹⁶⁰ Based on reconstruction of the damaged section by Helck (1965: 119). See also Navrátilová (2007: 34). It seems likely that this is the correct reconstruction based on the phraseology of other graffiti.

¹⁶¹ ‘*ḳdw*’ has a divine determinate which is unusual. Helck (1965: 119) uses the sign  which he translates as ‘Schöpfer’ (‘creator’).

¹⁶² Based on reconstruction of the damaged section by Navrátilová (2007: 34). Navrátilová (2007: 35) notes that the comparison of a monument to heaven is found in other graffiti. Examples can be found in G05M07, G05M08 and G05M10. The phrase may have ended with ‘inside them’ or ‘in their interior’.

G00M28

Date: 18th Dynasty¹⁶³

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 69)



(Navrátilová 2007: 35)



Transliteration:

1) *mk ḥm*

Translation:

1) See the coward¹⁶⁴

References:

Navrátilová 2007: 35-36

Helck 1965: 119

¹⁶³ See Navrátilová (2007: 35) for discussion of the dating of this graffito.

¹⁶⁴ Navrátilová (2007: 35) translates the word as ‘bastard’, while Helck (1965: 119) translates the phrase as ‘siehe den Päderast’ and notes its similar nature to that of Černý (1935: 81[1]) (G00M34). See also Müller-Wollermann (2004: 155-157) for discussion of the term and other insults.

G00M29

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 69)



(Navrátilová 2007: 36)



Transliteration:

1) *sš H3t[i3y]*¹⁶⁵


Translation:

1) The scribe Hat[iay(?)]¹⁶⁶

References:

Navrátilová 2007: 36-37

Helck 1965: 120

¹⁶⁵ Helck (1965: 120) suggests that the name should be read  (*H3ti3y*) (see also Navrátilová (2007: 36-37)). This seems the most likely conclusion based on the signs that are readable.

¹⁶⁶ Navrátilová (2007: 37) notes that this text is found on the same block as G00M30 and so may be connected to the previous graffito. However, she also notes that graffiti including only the name of the scribe are common for visitors' graffiti and so it is equally likely that the two graffiti were completed by separate individuals. For the purposes of this study the two graffiti will be considered as separate, as there is no comprehensive evidence to the contrary.

G00M30

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 69)



(Navrátilová 2007: 37)



or



Transliteration:

*iwt*¹⁶⁷ *ir.n sš/hm-ntr*¹⁶⁸

Translation:

Coming of the scribe/*hm-ntr*

References:

Navrátilová 2007: 36-37

Helck 1965: 120

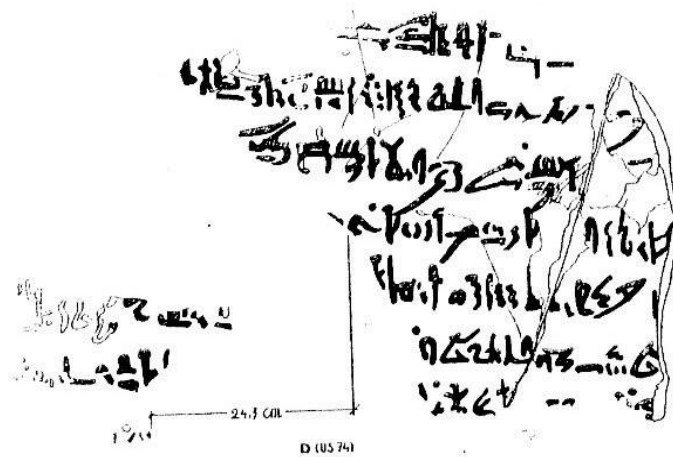
¹⁶⁷ As with G00M27 Helck (1965: 120) begins the transliteration with 𓂏 but it is clear here that the text begins with only one 𓂏 , although the signs following are less certain; Navrátilová (2007: 38) transcribes it 𓂏 which cannot be dismissed as a possibility. However, this does not change the fundamental meaning of the graffito.

¹⁶⁸ Navrátilová (2007: 37) remains undecided between the two options. Helck (1965: 120) opts for 𓂏 . The text is very ambiguous and so both options are included here.

G00M31

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 74)



(Navrátilová 2007: 39)



¹⁶⁹ Note the additions and small differences in Helck's copy of the text which reads:

- 1) [Hieroglyphs] ... 2) [Hieroglyphs] ...
- 3) [Hieroglyphs] ... große Lücke... [Hieroglyphs] ...
- 4) [Hieroglyphs] ... große Lücke... [Hieroglyphs] ... 5) [Hieroglyphs] ...
- 6) [Hieroglyphs] ... große Lücke... [Hieroglyphs] ...
- 7) [Hieroglyphs] ... (Helck 1965: 120).

Transliteration:

- 1) [...] *ikr*¹⁷⁰ *hr dd.n* [...]
- 2) [...] [*i*]wt *r sd3(y) hr(w) hr smit nw(y) nt Mn-nfr* [...]
- 3) [...] *pn gm.n.f sy mi pt m hnw* [... *i*]3wt¹⁷¹
- 4) [...] *s* [...] *iw mhy(t) iw* [...]
- 5) [...] *mrt* [...] *hr hr 3ht* [... *i* ...]
- 6) [...] *w n t sb3w*¹⁷² [...]
- 7) [...] *nfr*¹⁷³ [...]

Translation:

- 1) [...] excellent, saying [...]
- 2) [...] came to amuse [himself/themselves] upon the desert of Memphis [...]
- 3) [...] this [...] he found it like heaven in [its] interior [...] old age
- 4) [...] north wind. [He] came (?) [...]
- 5) [...] love/loveliness¹⁷⁴ [...] akhet [...]
- 6) [...] of the school¹⁷⁵ [...]
- 7) [...] excellent [...]

References:

Helck 1965: 120-121

Navrátilová 2007: 39-40

¹⁷⁰ As noted above Helck (1965: 120) transcribes this as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ although he does not offer a transliteration. Navrátilová (2007: 39) favours the reading '*ikr*' although she does note the unusual writing of the word.

¹⁷¹ The reading of '[*t*]3wt' is based on that of Helck (1965: 120) (see also Navrátilová (2007: 39)).

¹⁷² See above for Helck's reconstruction of this line ('*n3 n sb3w n t sb3*') (Helck 1965: 120).

¹⁷³ As noted above, Helck transcribes this as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (*nfr nb.f*) (Helck 1965: 120).

¹⁷⁴ See Navrátilová (2007: 40) who translates this as 'loveliness'.

¹⁷⁵ Helck (1965: 120) suggests 'the teacher of the school'.

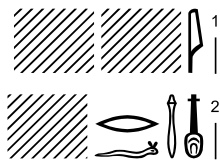
G00M32

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: Sun Temple of Userkhaf, Abusir (frag. US 71)



(Navrátilová 2007: 43)



Transliteration:

1) *i*[...]

2) *nfr* ʿ3 *r.f*[...]

Translation:

1) [...]

2) beauty more than [...]¹⁷⁶

References:

Helck 1965: 121

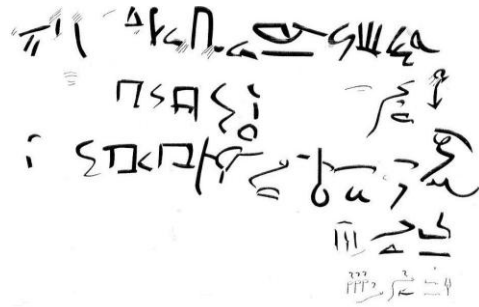
Navrátilová 2007: 143-144

¹⁷⁶ Navrátilová (2007: 43) suggests that this text may be a ‘laudatory sentence’.

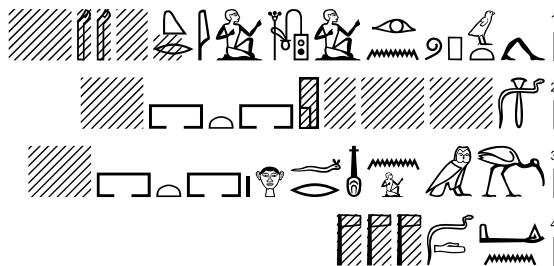
G00M33

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: North Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall B (see plan 1a), 57cm from the ground)



(Navrátilová 2007: 79)



Transliteration:


1) *iwt pw ir.n(i) sš ik[r db^cw]*¹⁷⁷

2) *W3d [r m33 t3 hwt ntr ...]*¹⁷⁸

3) *gm.n.i nfr*¹⁷⁹ -*ḥr prt(?) [...]*

¹⁷⁷The inclusion of '*db^cw*' is based on the reconstruction by Navrátilová (2007: 80). Černý (1935: 78[c]) also translates this as 'clever fingers', and furthermore suggests that the scribe's name was 'Waz...' ('Wadj'). See Ragazzoli (2010: 165) for more on this phrase.

¹⁷⁸This is a probable reconstruction of this line based on the phrases typically found in such graffiti. Navrátilová (2007: 80) does not fill this lacuna, suggesting instead '*w3d [...]* *prt*' ('Wadj [...] house of provisions ...').

¹⁷⁹It is possible that this should read  (*gm.n.i nfr sy*) although there does not appear to be space for the extra signs, so one must assume that, if this was the intended phrase, the scribe made an error.

4) (r)di.n dd [ntrw]

Translation:

1) Coming of the scribe with excellent [fingers]

2) Wadj [to see the temple¹⁸⁰ ...]

3) I found (it) beautiful [...] / I found the building of the One-with-the-beautiful-face¹⁸¹

4. What the gods caused to say(?) [...]

References:

Černý 1935: 78[c]

Gunn notebook 31: 51 no. 2

Navrátilová 2007: 79-80

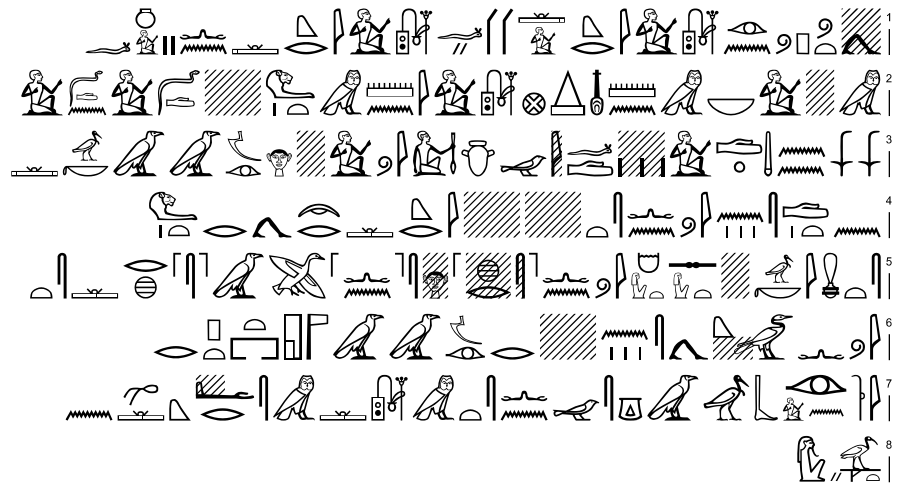
¹⁸⁰ Another possible reading of these signs is 'w3d.i [r m33 t3 hwt-ntr]' ('I am/feel refreshed [by seeing the temple]'), although this would be a more unusual phrase.

¹⁸¹ It is difficult to find the sense in this sentence. It is possible that the text refers to 'nfr-hr' ('the one with the beautiful face'), although this normally refers to Hathor or Ptah, who are not attested at this site (see Wörterbuch II: 255). A final potential translation is 'I found (it), how beautiful is the hr', although this is not satisfactory either.

G00M34

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall C (see plan 1b), 215cm from ground)





(After Gunn MSS.XIII.4.8)

Transliteration:¹⁸²

¹⁸² Without the original tracings or a photograph of the graffito itself the transliteration can only be based on that of Gunn (MS XIII.4.8.).

- 1) *iwt pw ir.n sš ikr (n) db^c(w)y.f sš ikr nn snnw.f*
- 2) *m¹⁸³ nb Mn-nfr sš Imn-m-ḥ3t dd.i dd n.i*
- 3) *nn mdww fd¹⁸⁴ i ib.i iw.i hr m33 b3k*
- 4) *n drt.sn iw.nn st [...] ikr spr (?) iw r-ḥ3t*
- 5) *st mi b3k[t]¹⁸⁶ st hmt iw nn [shr¹⁸⁷ hr].s nn¹⁸⁸ p3[s]¹⁸⁹ rh.st*
- 6) *iw nn k.sn [...] r m33 hwt-ntr ptr(.i)*
- 7) *ist ir.n.i b3g/bg3 {s} nn.s{t} m [...] sš¹⁹⁰ m s^crk.n¹⁹¹*
- 8) *Dḥwty*




¹⁸³ Gunn (MSS.XIII.4.8.) includes the possible signs  or  in a note here, but it is not clear how these work in the context of the text.

¹⁸⁴ Gunn (MSS.XIII.4.8.) suggests that there may be a Δ here.



¹⁸⁵ Gunn (MSS.XIII.4.8.) suggests alternatives for several parts of this line. In each case, the most likely option has been used, although it is difficult to be certain which parts of his transliteration are alternatives and which are continuations of the text in places (see also Navrátilová (2007: 100-101)).


¹⁸⁶ Presumably the lacuna held a feminine ending, but without an original text with which to compare it, the hieroglyphic version has been copied true to Gunn's transcription.

¹⁸⁷ This section of Gunn's text (Gunn MSS.XIII.4.8.) is full of corrections and erasures, so it is difficult to be certain which version he favoured. Three possible versions are included in his copy ('shr', 'nd', 'h3'). Navrátilová (2007: 100) notes that 'shr' was followed by Fischer (1976: 78), although he attributes the transcription to Jaromir Malek in a footnote. However, Gunn's text does not clearly show if this was the version he preferred based on the original text. The basic meaning is not significantly altered by the various versions and so the one favoured by Fischer will be used here.

¹⁸⁸ It is very difficult to be certain of the text in this line, given the amount of corrections and alternatives included in the transliteration. Navrátilová (2007: 100) misses 'hr.s nn', writing simply 'nn shr/h3 p3j[-s]'. Gunn (MS XIII.4.8.) also suggests a possible transliteration of  in place of  although  seems more likely in this context.

¹⁸⁹ It is likely that 's' is the correct understanding here although Gunn (MS.XIII.4.8) suggests 'i' as a possible alternative.

¹⁹⁰ Gunn (MS.XIII.4.8.) suggests that the  may, in fact, be a , in which case the word would read 'scribe'.

¹⁹¹ Gunn (MS.XIII.4.8.) includes a possible  at the end of the word, but he marks it as questionable; this sign would appear to be superfluous.

Translation:

- 1) The coming of the scribe, excellent of fingers,¹⁹² an excellent scribe second to none
- 2) in the whole of Mennefer, the scribe Amenemhat. I say: ‘Say to me
- 3) these words, my heart is distressed (?)¹⁹³ when I come to see the work
- 4) of their hands. It is not [...] excellent in front of,
- 5) it is like a maidservant,¹⁹⁴ a woman, a wife who does not [know about] it, as their thought does not exist,
- 6) if they could enter [...] to see the temple. [I] saw
- 7) such laziness. This is not [...] writing enlightened by
- 8) Thoth.¹⁹⁵

References:

Černý 1935: 81[I]

Derchain 1999: 28

Navrátilová 2007: 100-102

¹⁹² The inclusion of another *sš* sign here is likely either an error or intended as a determinative.

¹⁹³ The transliteration is not clear; the term *fd* (‘to sweat’) does not usually have the determinative seen here. It is possible that the term is being used figuratively – a ‘sweating heart’ – to show distress. There is another verb, *fdk*, which can be translated ‘to cut apart’ which may also be a figurative expression for distress (‘to cut the heart apart’) (Navrátilová 2007: 100). It is not possible to know which of these alternatives was intended, if either, but it is likely that the intention was to demonstrate distress.

¹⁹⁴ Navrátilová (2007: 101) suggests ‘it is like the work of a woman’; here, she understands *b3k* as ‘work’ rather than ‘maidservant’.

¹⁹⁵ Compare with Derchain’s translation which reads, ‘Le scribe aux doigts habiles Amenemhat est passé ici. C’est un excellent scribe sans égal à Memphis. Je dis: ‘Qu’on m’explique ce qui est écrit! Je suis malade quand je vois l’ouvrage de leur main ... C’est comme celui d’une femme qui n’a pas de style. Que ne les démasque-t-on avant d’entrer dans le temple! Ce que je vois est scandaleux. Ce ne sont pas des scribes que Thoth a instruits’ (Derchain 1999: 28).

G00M35

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara

Translation:¹⁹⁶

‘The scribe of clever fingers came, good ..., Priest of Sekhmet, ... to see the temple of Djoser, true of voice (justified). He found it as if heaven were in it, Re rising in it, heaven [raining] myrrh, incense dripping on it ... in the temple of Herakhte ... father ...’ (Černý 1935: 81[m])

References:

Černý 1935: 81[m]

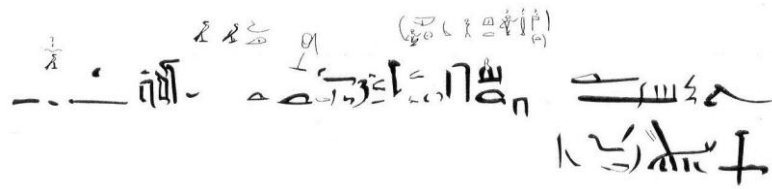
Navrátilová 2007: 102

¹⁹⁶ There is no photograph or tracing available; Černý (1935: 81[m]) includes only a translation of the text.

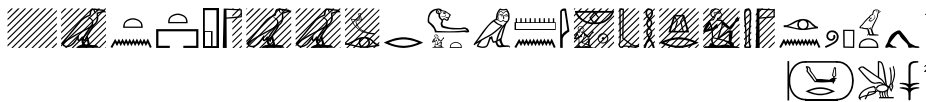
G00M36

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara (wall C (see plan 1b), 120cm from ground)



(Navrátilová 2007: 103)



Transliteration:

1) *iwt pw ir.n* [*hm-ntr*¹⁹⁷ *hry-ḥb*] *Imn-m-ḥ3t*¹⁹⁸ *r* [*m33*] *ḥwt -ntr* {*t*}*n* [3 ...]

2) *nsw-bit Dsr*

Translation:

1) Coming of the [*hm-ntr/w^cb* and *hry-ḥb*] Amenemhat to [see] the temple of [...]


2) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser.

References:

Černý 1935: 81[n]

Navrátilová 2007: 103-104

¹⁹⁷ Despite Gunn's tracing, both Černý (1935: 81[n]) and Navrátilová (2007: 103) read this as '*w^cb*' rather than '*hm-ntr*'.

¹⁹⁸ Černý (1935: 81[n]) includes a stroke before the  at the end of the scribe's name.

G00M37

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara

Translation:¹⁹⁹

‘The scribe Amenhotep. The scribe ...’ (Černý 1935: 82[o])

References:

Černý 1935: 82[o]

Navrátilová 2007: 104

¹⁹⁹ No tracing or photograph of this graffito is available. Černý (1935: 82[o]) includes only a translation of the text.

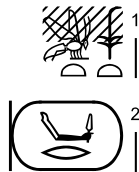
G00M38

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: South Chapel of Djoser, Saqqara²⁰⁰



(Navrátilová 2007: 105)



Transliteration:

1) *nsw-bit*

2) *Dsr*

Translation:

1) The King of Upper and Lower Egypt

2) Djoser

References:

Černý 1935: 82[p]

Navrátilová 2007: 105-106

²⁰⁰ Navrátilová (2007: 105) notes that this graffito is located within a larger group of graffiti; she questions if it is a surviving part of a larger graffito, although she then dismisses this as unlikely.

G00T39

Date: 18th Dynasty

Location: TT60, Sheik Abd el-Qurna



(After Davies 1920: pl xxxviii[29])

Transliteration:

- 1) *iwt.in sš Dḥwty m3ꜥ-hrw*
- 2) *r m33 is pn*
- 3) *n h3w Hpr-k3-Rꜥ ꜥnh dt*
- 4) *wn.in.f hr ntr dw3t wrt*

Translation:

- 1) Coming of the scribe Djehuty, true of voice,
- 2) to see this tomb
- 3) of the time of Kheperkara (Senwosret I).
- 4) He praised god greatly.

References:

Davies 1920: pl. xxxviii[29]

APPENDIX 2. LOCATIONS OF GRAFFITI BY DATE

Location Date	‘Memphis’						Thebes			Total
	Saqqara			Mei- dum	Abusir		Sheik abd el- Qurna	Deir el- Bahri	Valley of the Kings	
	North Chapel of Djoser	South Chapel of Djoser	Memorial Complex of Pepi II	Memorial Temple of Sneferu	Sun Temple of Userkhaf	Memorial Temple of Sahura	TT60	TT504	KV43	
“Early/Mid”							2			2
Amenhotep I		1								1
Thutmose I		1(1)								1(1)
Thutmose II		(1)								(1)
Thutmose III	1	3[1]		2	1	1				8[1]
Hatshepsut		[1]								[1]
Amenhotep II		1				(1)				1(1)
Thutmose IV						(1)				(1)
Amenhotep III		1		2						3
Akhenaten		1								1
Tutankhamun	1	1								2
Horemheb									2	2
“Late 18 th Dynasty”								1		1
Unknown	1	5	1		6		1			14
Total	3	16	1	4	7	2	3	1	2	

(1) designates a graffito for which the dating is uncertain, and has been allocated to within 2 reigns. For this reason the graffito is included in both of the possible reigns, but is tallied only once in the total for that monument.

[1] designates a graffito which is dated to a coregency (i.e. the dating written by the graffitist specifies two different pharaohs who co-ruled). Again, the graffito is included in both of the specified reigns but is tallied only once in the total for that monument.

APPENDIX 3. THEMES IN GRAFFITI

Theme Graffito	Identification of the monument	Name of builder of the monument	Description of the monument	Prayers or offerings	Negative emotions	Dating formula	Focus on the living king ¹	Restoration graffito	Dating the monument	Name of graffittist	Multiple authors
G00T01	x	x	x								
G00T02	x		x						x	x	
G02M03	x	x	x			x				x	
G03M04						x				x	
G04M05						x				x	
G05M06	x					x	x			x	x
G05M07	x	x	x	x		x ²					
G05M08	x	x	x	x						x	x
G05M09						x	x			x	
G05M10		x	x			x					
G05M11				x		x				x	
G05M12						x				x	
G05M13	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	
G06M14	x	x	x	x ³		x	x			x	
G07M15	x					x				x	
G08M16	x	x	x	x		x				x	
G09M17						x	x				
G09M18	x	x				x				x	
G09M19						x	x				
G10M20						x					
G12M21	x	x		x ⁴		x				x	
G12M22							x ⁵				
G14T23	x ⁶	x				x		x		x	x ⁷
G14T24								x ⁸		x	x

¹ This is a mention of the living king beyond that of his inclusion within the dating formula.

² Although the phrase is not completed, there is enough surviving to be sure that it was of this nature.

³ The text mentions 'provisions'.

⁴ The text includes a plea to the gods for the future. It is in a different style to many of the other examples included in this category but may still be defined within the parameters.

⁵ The phrases in this text appear to refer to the king, Tutankhamun, although it is very fragmentary.

⁶ Maya specifies a 'burial' which identifies the site as a tomb.

⁷ This text and the text below appear to have been written at the same time by men who worked together, and the second text (G14T24) refers to the first (G14T23). Although, therefore, they are separate texts, they may be classed alongside those that have multiple authors.

⁸ Although this text does not state that it refers to a restoration, it was added by the scribe to G14T23 which is.

	Identification of the monument	Name of owner of the monument	Description of the monument	Prayers or offerings	Negative emotions	Dating formula	Focus on the living king	Restoration graffiti	Dating the monument	Name of graffitist	Multiple authors
G00T25				x						x	
G00M26										x	
G00M27	x		x							x	
G00M28					x						
G00M29										x	
G00M30											
G00M31			x								
G00M32			x								
G00M33			x							x ⁹	
G00M34	x				x					x	
G00M35	x	x	x								
G00M36	x	x								x	
G00M37										x	
G00M38		x									
G00T39	x								x	x	
Total	18	14	14	8	2	19	7	2	2	26	4 ¹⁰

⁹ Assuming that the name of the scribe is 'Wadj', and that this sign is not part of another phrase.

¹⁰ This counts G14T23 and G14T24 as two texts; if they are taken as being a 'group' inscription then they should only be counted as one.

APPENDIX 4. ‘PROFESSIONS’ OF GRAFFITISTS

Titles are only included in this table if the text has survived. Those that are probable (even if they are included in the translations within square brackets) are not included here.

Title	Frequency	
	Memphis	Thebes
<i>ʿth</i>	1	0
<i>sš</i> or ‘scribe’	21.5 ¹	3
<i>sš n ḥ3y</i>	1	0
<i>sš nsw</i>	0	1
<i>sš hwt</i>	0	1
<i>wʿb</i>	0	1
<i>ḥm-ntr</i>	0.5	0
<i>hry-ʿ</i>	1	1
‘Priest’ ²	1	0
<i>wḥm nswt</i>	1	0
<i>sb3</i>	1	0
<i>nbyw n Imn</i>	1	0
<i>t3y-ḥw ḥr imn n nsw</i>	0	1
<i>imy-r pr-ḥd</i>	0	1
<i>imy-r k3wt m st nhḥ</i>	0	1
<i>imy-r niwt rsy</i>	0	1
<i>sšmw ḥb n Imn n Ipt-swt</i>	0	1
<i>shd ḥmww</i>	1	0

¹ ‘0.5’ is used to show a title for which the reading is uncertain.

² Only the translation is available for this text.

APPENDIX 5. DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED IN GRAFFITI

Descriptive term	Location	
	Thebes	Memphis
Pyramid	0	4
Temple	0	12 ¹
Tomb	3	0
Beautiful/beauty	0	5
Like heaven	2	8 ²
Myrrh/incense ³	0	2 ⁴
Ra rising	0	4

¹ The phrase in G05M11 reads ‘may you drink the water of the temple’, presumably a reference to the building that the graffito is in.

² Although only terms which have survived to the present day have been included, with probable phrases in lacunae excluded, the near complete survival of the phrase ‘he found it like heaven in its interior’ in G02M03 (only the word ‘heaven’ has not survived) means that it is pertinent to include it.

³ This may be in the form of a description or of a wish (‘may...’).

⁴ This is also included in G05M13, but as part of an offering formula.

APPENDIX 6. DETAILS OF TOMB DEPICTIONS

This appendix details the depictions of deceased royal individuals in private tombs. Where an * is found by the name of a royal individual, it denotes that this individual was alive at the time that the tomb was built and will not, therefore, be treated as a royal ancestor.

D05T01

Ahmose-Nefertari stands behind the goddess Nephthys, who is identified by her headdress. In front are two more figures,¹ although only their feet remain. Ahmose-Nefertari wears the vulture headdress with modius crown. Her name is included in the texts below.

Tomb: TT349

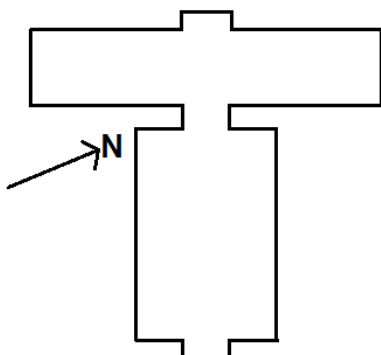
Owner: Tjay

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Thutmose III²

Royal figures: Ahmose-Nefertari

Location in tomb: Uncertain (stela not found in location)



(After PM I.I: 416)

¹ These are identified by Nasr (1985: 98) as Isis and Osiris (who is included in the text).

² Nasr (1985: 76-77) notes that there are no cartouches within the tomb from which a date can be ascertained, but that it can instead be dated through several decorative criteria, in particular the colours used and the hairstyles of figures in the niche.



(Nasr 1985: fig. 7)

Texts:

Above figures:

(Damaged)³

Below figures:

1) [...] *Wsir*⁴ *hry-ib Štyt*⁵ *Wn-n-nfr hk3 ʿnhw*

nb nhḥ hk3 [...]

1) [...] Osiris, who is in the
sanctuary of Shetyt,⁶ Wenenefer,
ruler of the living forever, ruler of
[...]⁷

³ Nasr (1985: 98) suggests that this can be reconstructed *ʿIpt swt* ('Karnak'), but there is not sufficient text remaining to be certain of this.

⁴ Nasr (1985: 98) suggests that this may read *Pth-Skr-Wsir*.

⁵ Reading of Nasr (1985: 98).

⁶ The sanctuary of Sokar-Osiris (see Wörterbuch: 559 for alternate spellings).

⁷ Nasr (1985: 98) suggests 'ruler of [eternity]' (*ʿhk3 [dt]*).

2) *hmt-ntr n Imn Thms-nfrr-iry n Mn-is(w)t*

2) God's wife of Amun, Ahmose-
Nefertari

in Menisut⁹

3) [*h3 m sntr h3 m*]⁸ *mrh[t] h3 m [...]*

3) [A thousand of incense, a
thousand of] oil, a thousand of [...]

References:¹⁰

Nasr 1985

Hollender 2009: 16

⁸ Suggested by Nasr (1985: 98); this seems the most likely reading of the damaged section, given the contents of the surviving parts.

⁹ Probably a temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, although it may have been more closely linked with Ahmose-Nefertari (see PM II: 422-3, Haring (1997: 419), Van Siclen (1980)). See chs. 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2 for more details on the identity of the temple Meniset.

¹⁰ In each instance, selected references have been included. For further references, see those listed in PM I.I.

D05T02¹¹

The deceased and attendant stand in front of a table of offerings, the attendant holding a female statuette. Two women, who are identified in the texts as Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu and Ahmose-Inhapy, sit behind the table, each wearing the vulture crown. A third woman stands behind the chairs and a child stands under the seats.

Tomb: TT53

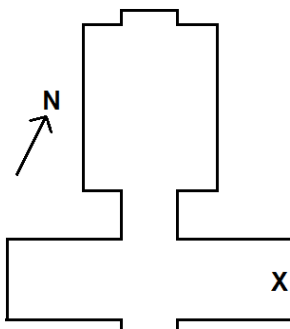
Owner: Amenemhat

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Thutmose III – (Hatshepsut)

Royal figures: [Ahmose-Inhapi], Ahmose-Henet-Tamehu¹²

Location in tomb: Hall (top of stela)¹³

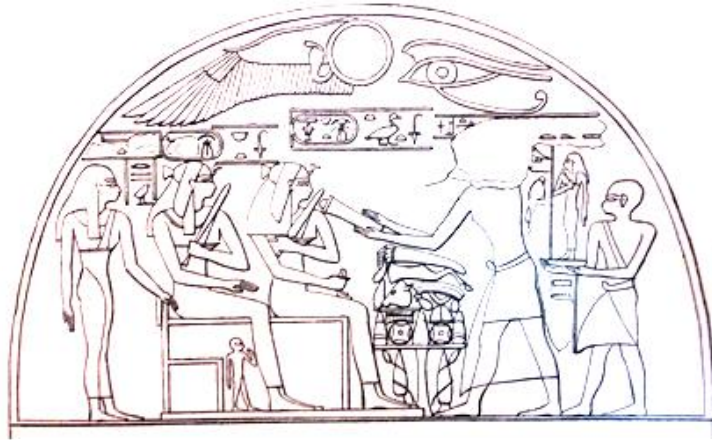


(After PM I.I: 90)

¹¹ Although dated 'Thutmose III-(Hatshepsut)', this depiction has been included in the reign of Thutmose III for the purposes of allocating a reference number. This is because the tomb is dated primarily to the reign of Thutmose III.

¹² These individuals can be dated to the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties (see Grajetzki (2005), Dodson and Hilton (2004: 128)) despite Bouriant's suggestion that they are daughters of Thutmose I, one of which was to become a wife of Thutmose II (Bouriant 1893: 71).

¹³ See Urk. IV: 1217-1223 for text on the stela proper.




(Hermann 1940: Abb. 8)

Texts:

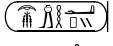
Right to left:


- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) <i>imy-st-^c</i> [<i>Imn 'Imn-m-ḥ3t</i>] ¹⁴ | 1) Acolyte of [Amun, Amenemhat] |
| 2) [...]f ¹⁵ w ^c b [n] T[mn] ¹⁶ | 2) [...]f, w ^c b [of] A[mun]. |
| 3) <i>s3t nsw T^chms-ḥnt-t3-mḥw</i> | 3) The king's daughter, Ahmose-Henet-Tamehu |
| 4) <i>ḥmt nsw T^chms-[in-ḥ]^c[py]</i> ¹⁷ | 4) The king's wife, Ahmose-[Inh]a[py] |
| 5) [mn] ^c t ¹⁸ R[...]w ¹⁹ | 5) [The Nurse] R[...]w. |

¹⁴ Possibly  (see Hermann (1940: 61) and Urk. IV: 1220, 1222 for use of the same title for this individual).

¹⁵ Possibly 's3.f' (see L.D. iii: 8[a]).

¹⁶ This seems to be the most likely option (see also Hermann (1940: 61)).

¹⁷ Hermann (1940: 60) reads this as .

¹⁸ Hermann (1940: 60) reads this as .

¹⁹ In the drawing the two signs in the middle of the name look like *t3* signs, but this is unlikely. They may be *n* signs, giving the name *Rnnw*.

References:

Bouriant 1893: 71-73 (includes text of stela proper)

Hermann 1940: 60-62, Abb. 8, Taf. 9[d]

L.D. iii: 8[a]

PM I.I: 103

Urk. IV: 1217-1223 (text on stela below depiction)

D07T03

The reigning king, Amenhotep II, sits to the far right of the scene. Offering bringers carry various objects to him as part of the New Year's festival. These include royal statues, primarily of Amenhotep II. In the upper row, however, are a statue each of Hatshepsut, wearing a vulture headdress and modius crown, and Thutmose I, wearing a *šwty* crown with ram's horns.

Tomb: TT93

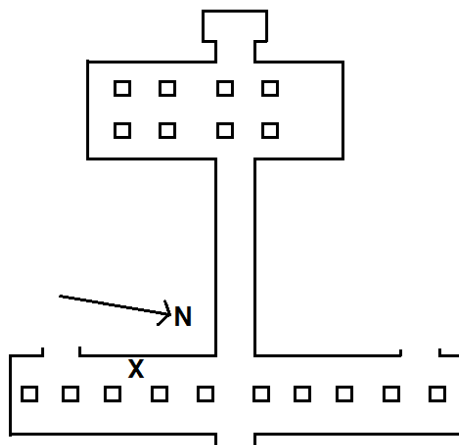
Owner: Kenamun

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

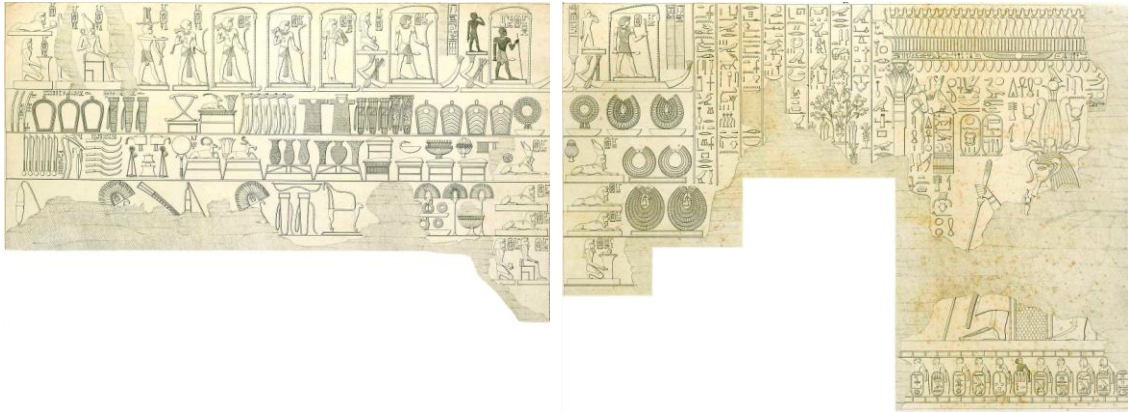
Date: Amenhotep II

Royal figures: Thutmose I, Amenhotep II*, Hatshepsut

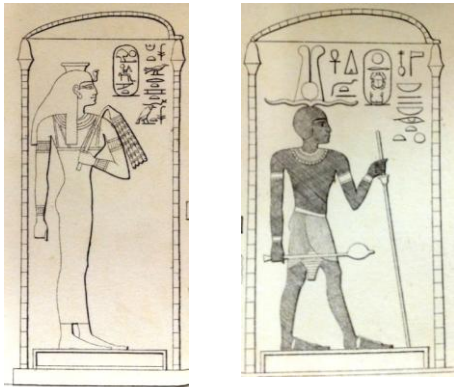
Location in tomb: Outer hall



(After PM I.I: 186)



Details of statues of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I



(LD iii: 63[a], 64[a])

Texts:²⁰

Text above Thutmose I:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) <i>ntr nfr nb-t3wy nb irt ht ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ di ʿnh</i>
<i>dt</i></p> | <p>1) The Good God, Lord of the Two
Lands, Lord of Action,
Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), given
life forever</p> |
|--|--|

Text above Hatshepsut:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) <i>hmt nsw wrt mrt.f mwt nsw H3t-špst mrt Rʿ</i></p> | <p>1) Great Royal Wife, his beloved,
Mother of the King, Hatshepsut,
beloved of Ra</p> |
|--|--|

²⁰ Due to the large amount of texts in this scene, only those which relate directly to Hatshepsut and Thutmose I have been translated.

References:

Davies 1930a: 22-32 (esp. 25-26), pls. xi-xxiv

Davies 1930b: pls. xi[a], xxii[a]

LD iii: 63[a], 64[a]

PM I.I: 191

Urk. IV: 1390-1394

D09T04

Thutmose III sits in a kiosk, wearing the *hrps̥* crown (the rest of the scene has been lost).

Tomb: TT89

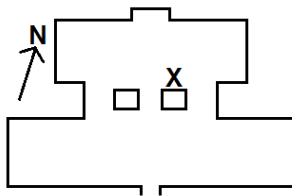
Owner: Amenmose

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Amenhotep III²¹

Royal figures: Thutmose III

Location in tomb: Hall (pillar)



(After PM I.I: 176)



(Davies 1924: fig. 6)

²¹ Davies and Davies (1940: 131) write that 'though he [Amenmose] gives the chief position in the tomb to Amenhotep III as the reigning king when it was decorated, it is for Tuthmosis that he prays', noting that the depiction of Amenmose 'paying homage' to Thutmose III was clearly created in the reign of Amenhotep III based on the style of the face.

Texts:

Left to right, left of Thutmose III inside of
kiosk:

1) *ntr nfr s3 Imn*

2) *nsw-bit Mn-hpr-R^c*

3) *s3 R^c Dhwti-ms*

4) *mr n Imn-R^c*

5) *di nh mi R^c*

1) The Good God, Son of Amun,

2) King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Menkheperre (Thutmose III),

3) Son of Re, Djehutymes,

4) Beloved of Amun-Ra,

5) Given life like Ra

Right of Thutmose III inside of kiosk:

1) *mi R^c dt*

1) Like Ra forever

References:

Davies 1924: 52, fig. 6

PM I.I: 183

D09T05

The tomb owner and his wife stand in front of a table of offerings. Behind the table is a kiosk in which sit three figures. At the front is Osiris, Hathor is behind him and third is Ahmose-Nefertari wearing the vulture headdress with *šwty* crown. Each of the three holds an ankh in one hand. In his other hand Osiris holds *hḳ3* and *w3s* sceptres and a flail, while Ahmose-Nefertari holds what appears to be a handkerchief.

Tomb: TT161

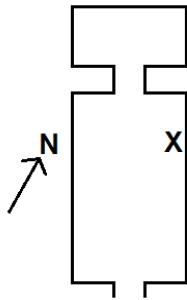
Owner: Nakht

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

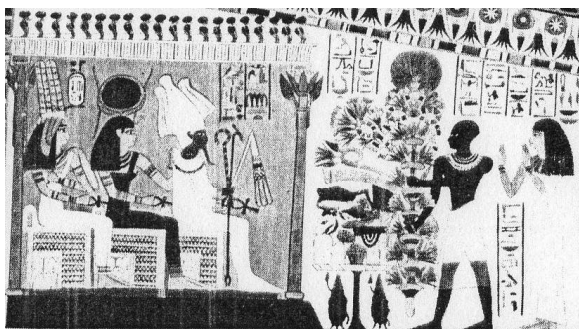
Date: Amenhotep III

Royal figures: Ahmose Nefertari

Location in tomb: Hall



(After PM I.I: 272)



(Werbrouck and Van der Walle 1929: pl. facing p. 8)

Texts:

Above Osiris:

1) *Wsir ḥnty-imntyw ntr* ʿ3²²

1) Osiris, Foremost of the
Westerners, Great God

Above Ahmose-Nefertari:

1) *ḥmt-ntr Tḥms-nfirt-iry*

1) God's wife, Ahmose-Nefertari

References:

Hollender 2009: 18-19

L.D. Text iii: 241

Northampton et al. 1908:: 6, fig. 4

PM I.I: 275

Werbrouck and Van der Walle 1929: pl. facing p. 8

²² There may be another word after this but the signs are unclear.

D09T06²³

Two scenes are shown, one either side of the doorway. To the left, the tomb owner offers to a seated Thutmose III, who wears the red crown. To the right, the tomb owner offers to a seated Amenhotep I, who wears a *sšd* band. Behind Amenhotep I stands prince Ahmose-Sipair, his child status denoted by a sidelock.

Tomb: TT161

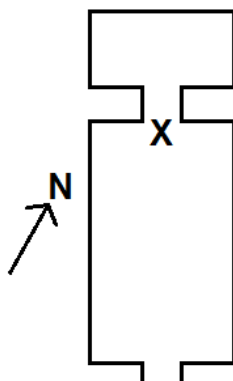
Owner: Nakht

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Date: Amenhotep III

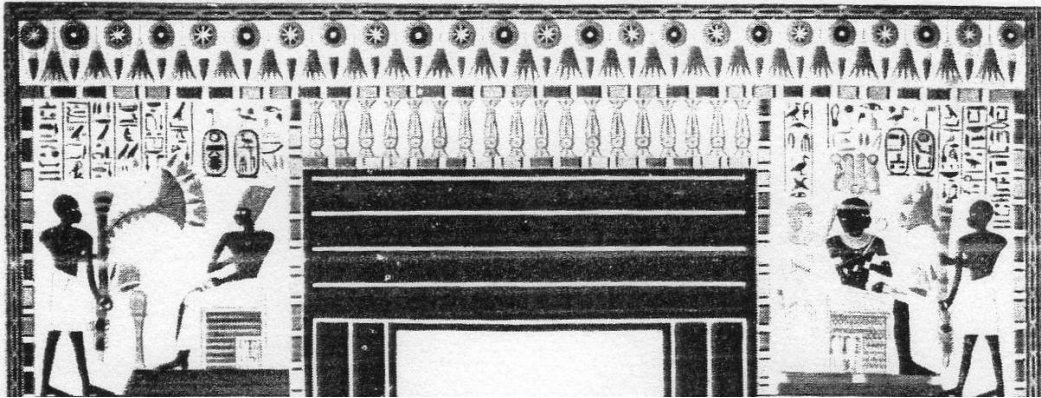
Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose Sipair, Thutmose III

Location in tomb: Hall, above doorway



(After PM I.I: 272)

²³ These are, in fact, two scenes which occur either side of a doorway; however, the two scenes are clearly intended to mirror each other and so have been included together in the catalogue.



(Werbrouck and Van der Walle 1929: pl. facing p. 17)

Texts:²⁴

Above Thutmose III:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1) <i>ntr</i> [<i>nfr</i>] <i>Mn-hpr-R</i> | 1) [The Good] God, Menkheperra |
| 2) <i>s3-R</i> <i>Dhwtj-ms</i> | 2) Son of Ra, Thutmose (III) |
| 3) <i>mry Wsir</i> | 3) Beloved of Osiris |

Above Amenhotep I:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1) <i>ntr</i> [<i>nfr</i>] <i>Dsr-k3-R</i> | 1) [The Good] God, Djeserkara, |
| 2) <i>s3-R</i> <i>Imn-htp</i> | 2) Son of Ra, Amenhotep (I), |
| 3) <i>mry Wsir</i> | 3) Beloved of Osiris |
| 4) <i>mi R</i> <i>dt</i> | 4) Like Ra forever |

Above Ahmose-Sipair:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) <i>s3 nsw Thms-s3-p3-ir</i> | 1) Son of Ra, Ahmose-Sipair |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|

²⁴ Only those texts which relate to the royal figures have been translated.

References:

Hollender 2009: 17-18

PM I.I: 275

Werbrouck and Van der Walle 1929: pl. facing p. 17

D10T07

The tomb owner stands in front of a table of offerings with arms raised. In front of the table is a kiosk, in which sit Amenhotep I, wearing the *hprš* crown, and Ahmose-Nefertari, who wears the vulture headdress with modius.

Tomb: TT181

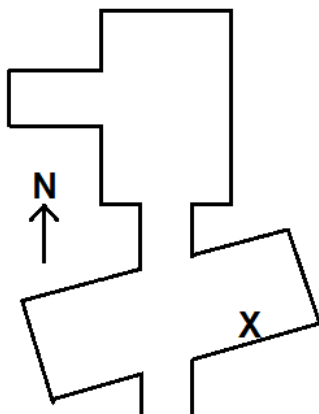
Owner: Nebamun (and Ipuky)

Location: el-Khokha

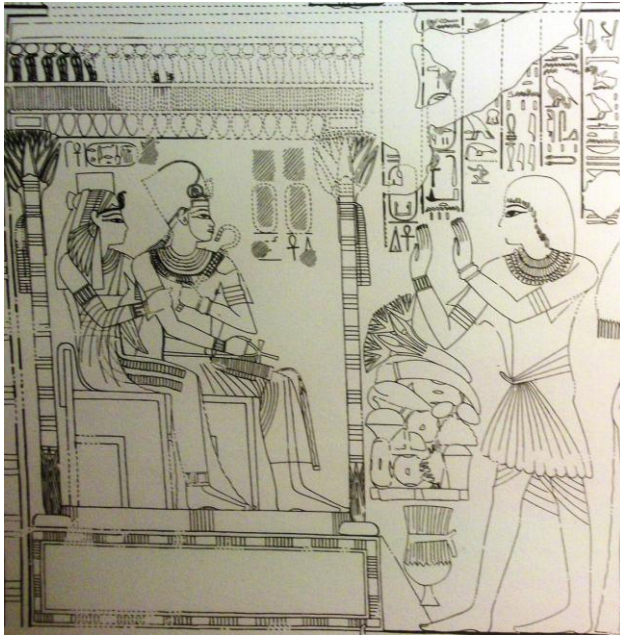
Date: Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)

Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose Nefertari

Location in tomb: Hall



(After PM I.I: 283)



(Davies 1925b: pl. ix)

Texts:

Above Amenhotep I:

1) [... *Djs-k3-R* ... *Imn-ḥtp*]²⁵ *di ʕnh dt*

1) [... Djeserkara ... Amenhotep],
given life forever

Above Ahmose-Nefertari:

1) [*Hmt ntr*]²⁶ *Iḥ[ms]-nfrt-iry ʕnh.ti*

1) [God's wife] Ah[mose]-
Nefertari, may she live

References:

Davies 1925: 32-33, 57-63, pl. ix

Hollender 2009: 21-23

PM I.I: 288

²⁵ One must assume that the cartouches read thus, with typical epithets (*s3 R*, *nb-ḥwy* and similar).

²⁶ See Hollender (2009: 158)

D10T08

Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) pours libations onto an offering stand in front of
Amenhotep III and Teye, who wears the *šwty* crown.

Tomb: TT192

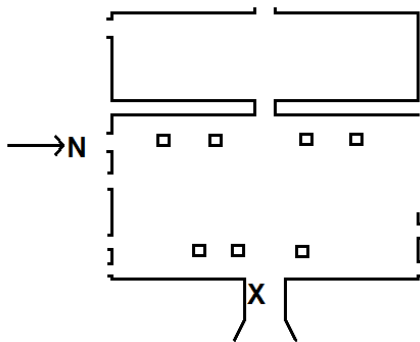
Owner: Kharuef

Location: el-Asasif

Date: Amenhotep III – Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)

Royal figures: Amenhotep III, Teye*, Amenhotep IV*²⁷

Location in tomb: Passage



(After PM I.I: 292, 296)

²⁷ There is much debate about a possible coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, which throws into doubt if this scene is does, in fact, depict a deceased ancestor (see, for example, Redford (1967: 88-92), Johnson (1990), Allen et al. (1994)). Dorman (2009) sums up the debate, focusing on the order in which the tomb was constructed; he concludes (2009: 78-80) that the scene does, indeed, show Amenhotep III as a royal ancestor, having been carved in the early years of Amenhotep IV's reign. See ch. 3.4. for more discussion of the coregency.



(Survey 1980: pl. 13)

The majority of the texts cannot be translated, due to the fragmentary nature of the scene. However, part of the cartouches of Amenhotep III ('[Nb]-M3^ct-R^c' and 'Imn-ḥtp ḥk3 W3st') can be seen in the centre of the image.

References:

Dorman 2009: 66-67

The Epigraphic Survey 1980: pl. 13

Habachi 1958: 347-348, pl. xxii[a]

PM I.I: 298

D10A09

Two scenes mirror each other. To the left Akhenaten, wearing the *hprš* crown, and Nefertiti, wearing a cap crown, sit, with four princesses approaching them. To the right Amenhotep III, wearing a cap crown, and Teye, wearing the *šwtj* crown with sundisk, sit facing each other with a princess standing between them, and three attendants to their right.

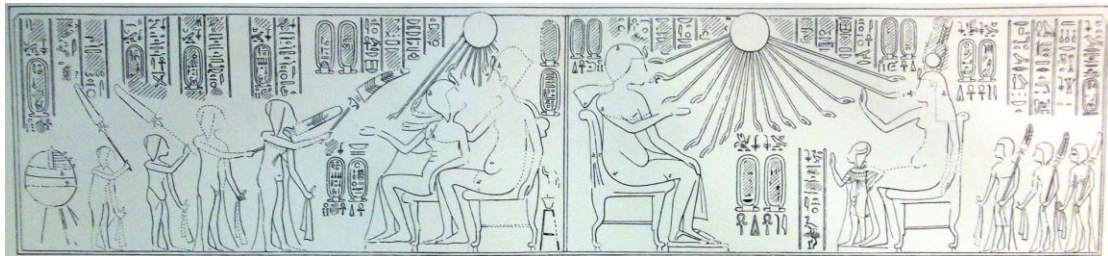
Tomb: Tomb 1

Owner: Huya

Location: Amarna

Date: Akhenaten

Royal figures: Amenhotep III, Teye*, Akhenaten*, Nefertiti*²⁸



(Davies 1905: pl. xviii)

Texts:

Left side:

Cartouches to the right of Akhenaten:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) [<i>ʕnh Rʕ ḥk3 3ḥty ḥʕ m 3ḥt</i>] ²⁹ <i>m rn.f m Rʕ it</i> | 1) [The living sun, ruler of the two |
| <i>ii m 'Itn</i> | horizons, who rejoices in the horizon] |

²⁸ As with the previous scene, there are issues relating to a possible coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, even after the move to Amarna. This is discussed in greater detail in ch. 3.4.

²⁹ Based on the surviving second cartouche, it can be assumed that these are the original contents of the first (see, for example, Davies (1906: pls. xx-xxii)).

in his name of Ra, the father who
comes as the Aten (sundisk)

Above Nefertiti:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) [<i>ʕnh Rʕ</i>] <i>ḥkꜣ ʒḥt[y] ḥʕy m ʒḥt [m rn.f] m Rʕ</i>
<i>i[t ii m 'Itn]</i>³⁰</p> <p>2) <i>'Itn ʕnh wr nb ḥb</i></p> <p>3) <i>nb [...]</i> <i>nb [...]</i></p> <p>4) <i>nb pt nb tꜣ m ʒḥt [...]</i></p> <p>5) [...]</p> | <p>1) [Living Ra], Ruler of [the Two Horizons], who rejoices in the horizon [in his name] of Ra, [the father who comes as the Aten]</p> <p>2) The Aten, Great of Life, Lord of the Festival,</p> <p>3) Lord [...], Lord [...],</p> <p>4) Lord of Sky, Lord of Earth from the horizon [...]</p> <p>5) [...]</p> |
|--|--|

Left of Nefertiti:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1) [<i>ḥmt</i>] <i>nsw nfr-nfrw-'Itn Nfrt-ii-ti ʕnh [...]</i>
<i>nḥḥ</i></p> <p>2) <i>nb-tꜣwy Nfr-ḥprw-Rʕ-wʕ-n-Rʕ di ʕnh</i></p> | <p>1) King's [wife], Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, life [...] forever</p> <p>2) Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheperura-waenra, given life</p> |
|---|---|

Right to left above princesses:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1) <i>sꜣ[t] nsw n ḥt.f mrt.f mrt-'Itn</i></p> | <p>1) King's daughter of his body, his</p> |
|--|--|

³⁰ This is the same cartouche as appears to the right of Akhenaten.

- | | |
|---|---|
| | beloved, Meretaten |
| 2) [<i>ms n</i>] ³¹ <i>ḥmt nsw wrt nfr-nfrw-Itn Nfirt-ii-ti</i> [<i>ḥnh dt</i>] <i>nḥḥ</i> | 2) [Born of the] Great king's wife, Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, [who lives forever and] ever |
| 3) [<i>s3t</i>] <i>nsw n ḥt.f mrt.f Mḥkt-Itn</i> | 3) King's [daughter] of his body, his beloved, Meketaten |
| 4) <i>ms [n] ḥmt nsw wrt Nfr-nfrw-ItN Nfirt-ii-ti</i> [<i>ḥnh dt nḥḥ</i>] | 4) Born [of] the Great king's wife, Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, [who lives forever and] ever |
| 5) <i>s3t nsw n ḥt.f mrt.f ḥnh-sn-p3[-itn]</i> ³² | 5) King's daughter of his body, his beloved, Ankhsenpa[aten] |
| 6) <i>ms n ḥmt nsw wrt Nfr[-nfrw-]ItN [Nfirt-ii-ti ḥnh dt nḥḥ]</i> | 6) Born of the Great king's wife, Nefer[neferu]aten Nefertiti, [who lives forever and] ever |
| 7) [<i>s3t nsw n</i>] <i>ḥt.f mr[.f ...] Nfr-nfrw-itn</i> | 7) [King's daughter of] his body [his] beloved, Neferneferuaten |
| 8) <i>I[3]-šrt</i> | 8) Tasheret |
| 9) [<i>m</i>] <i>s [n] ḥmt nsw wrt [Nfr-]nfrw-ItN [nfrt-ii-ti ḥnh dt[t] nḥḥ</i> | 9) [Born of] the Great Royal Wife [Nefer]-neferuaten [Neferti]ti, who lives [forever] and ever. |

Right side:

³¹ Probable reading based on the use of the identical phrase in line 4.

³² It must be assumed that *Itn* is also included in this name; although this would require *Itn* to be written at the end of the word rather than at the beginning, which is unusual, the same can be found in the name in line 7.

Left of Amenhotep III:

1) [*ʕnh Rʕ hk3 3hty hʕy m 3ht m rn.f m Rʕ it ii m Itn*]³³ *di ʕnh dt nhh*

1) [The living sun, ruler of the two horizons, who rejoices in the horizon] in his name of Ra, the father who comes as the Aten (sundisk)], given life forever and ever

Left to right above Amenhotep III:³⁴

1) *itn*

1-2) [Great] living sundisk

2) *ʕnh [wr]*

3) *nb [hb] nb [šnw]*

3) Lord of [the festival], Lord of [the cartouche]

4) *nb it[n] nb pt*

4) Lord of the Sundisk, Lord of the Sky,

5) [*nb-t3wy m 3ht[-i]t[n]*]

5) [Lord of the Two Lands in] Akhet[a]te[n]

In front of Amenhotep III:

1) *nsw-bit Nb[-m3ʕt-Rʕ] di ʕnh*

1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neb[maatra], given life

2) *hmt-nsw wrt [Ty] ʕnh.ti*

2) Great Royal Wife, [Teye], may she live

(In front of Baketaten)

³³ Presumably the cartouches of the Aten (see Sandman (1938: xliv)).

³⁴ Reconstructed based on the text opposite, which is the same (see also Sandman (1938: xliv)).

1) *s3t nsw n ht.f[mr]t.f B3k[t]-Itn*

1) King's daughter of his body, his
[beloved], Bak[et]aten

Right to left above Teye:

1) [...] *di ʕnh dt nhḥ*

1) [...] given life forever and ever

2) *ʕnh wr itn*

2) Great living Sundisk

3) *nb ḥb nb šnw nb*

3) Lord of the Festival, Lord of the
cartouche, Lord

4) *[itn] nb pt nb*

4) [of the Sundisk], Lord of the Sky,
Lord

5) *[t3wy] m 3ht[-Itn]*³⁵

5) [of the Two Lands] in Akhet[aten]

Cartouches to the right of Teye:

1) *nsw-bit Nb-M3ʕt-Rʕ di ʕnh*

1) King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Nebmaatira, given life,

2) *ḥmt nsw wrt Ty ʕnh.ti*

2) Great King's Wife, Teye, may she
live.

To the right of Teye

1) *irt-pʕt wr ḥsw nbt*

1) The hereditary princess, Great of
Praise, Lady of

2) *im3(t) [ḥmtt]³⁶ ršt³⁷ mḥtt ʕt*

2) Charm,³⁹ [?] of Joy who fills the
palace

³⁵ See phrase opposite, which is the same, and Sandman (1938: xlv).

³⁶ It is unclear what this word is intended to be, and Davies' copy suggests that the signs were damaged. This leads to the possibility that they were not copied accurately.

³⁷ This is probably intended to be the same word as is found in line 6 (*rš*).

3) *m nfrw r hmt Šmꜥw*³⁸ [T3-] *mḥw*

3) with beauty, Lady of Upper and
Lower Egypt,



4) *hmt nsw wrt rš.f nbt t3wy Ty*

4) Great Royal Wife, who he loves,⁴⁰
Lady of the Two Lands, Teye.

References:

Davies 1905: 15-16, pl. xviii

³⁹ This is reminiscent of the queenly epithet *wrt im3t* (see, for example, Urk. IV: 26[14], Faulkner (1962: 20)).

³⁸ Although this sign looks like , one should assume that it is, in fact, .

⁴⁰ *rš* is normally translated as ‘joy’ but in this context it should be understood as ‘love’ (see also Davies (1905: 15)).

D14T10

The tomb owner, his son and his wife stand before five figures who are in a shrine. In the shrine, Osiris sits with the gods Isis and Horus standing behind him. Behind the three gods stand Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, who wears the *šwty* crown.

Tomb: TT-162-

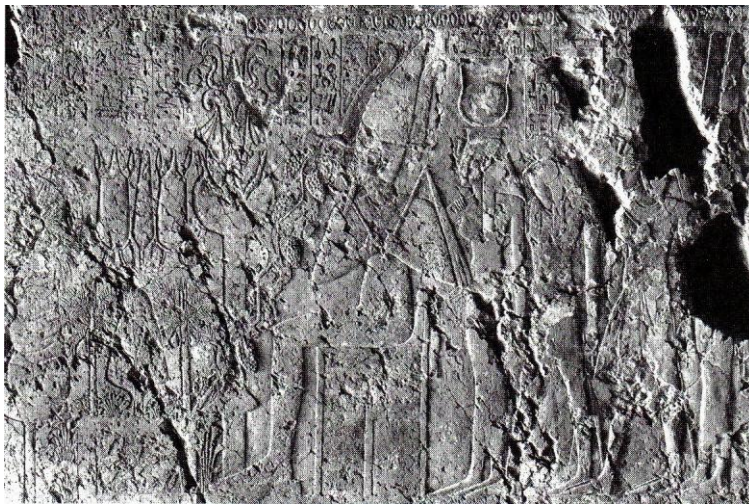
Owner: (Unknown)

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Date: Tutankhamun - Horemheb

Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari

Location in tomb: Hall (southern wall)⁴¹



(Hollender 2009: Abb. 6)

Texts not readable.

References:

Hollender 2009: 23-26

⁴¹ No map of this tomb is available.

D14T11

The tomb owner stands in front of Amenhotep I, who wears the *hprš* crown, and Ahmose-Nefertari, wearing the vulture crown with modius, who are seated, and offers them a bouquet.

Tomb: TT49

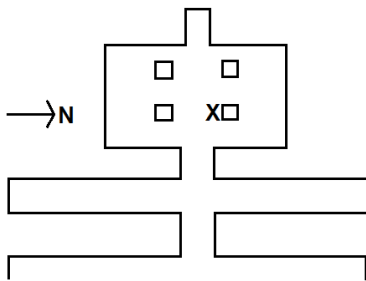
Owner: Neferhotep

Location: el-Khokha

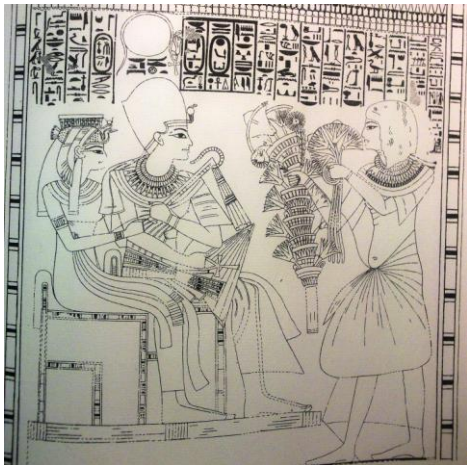
Date: Ay-Horemheb

Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari

Location in tomb: Hall



(After PM I.I: 90)



(Davies 1933: pl. li)

Texts:

Above Ahmose Nefertari (right to left):

1) *ḥmt ntr ṯḥms-nfrt-iry mrrt*

1) God's Wife, Ahmose-Nefertari,
beloved

2) *Imn km3 nfrt st*

2) of Amun, who created her beauty.

3) *dd.s ḥt nbt ir.tw sn šḥpt*

3) She says, "all things are made for
them", the one who satisfies

4) *ntr m nfrw.s*

4) the god with her beauty.

Above Amenhotep I (left to right):

1) *nb-t3wy Dsr-k3-Rḥ nb ḥw Imn-ḥtp di ḥnh
mi Rḥ dt*

1) Lord of the Two Lands,
Djeserkara, Lord of Appearances,
Amenhotep (I), given life like Ra
forever

2) *mry Imn-Rḥ nb nswt t3wy nb pt*

2) Beloved of Amun-Ra, Lord of the
Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of
the Sky

Below sundisk:

1) *Bḥdt nb pt*

1) Edfu,⁴² Lord of the Sky

⁴² Possibly combined with the sundisc to read 'Ra of Edfu'.

References:

Davies 1933: pl. li

Hollender 2009: 26-28

PM I.I: 94-95

D14T12

Two scenes mirror each other. To the left, Osiris sits with a table of offerings in front of him. Horemheb, wearing the *hprš* crown, offers him bouquets while Mutnedjemet, wearing the *šwty* crown and sundisk, holds two sistra. To the right, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, wearing the same crowns and again holding bouquets and sistra, stand in front of a seated Anubis.

Tomb: TT255

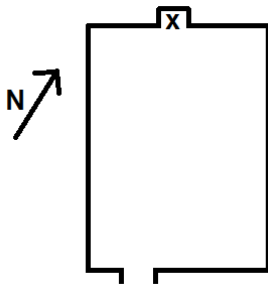
Owner: Roy

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Date: Horemheb-Seti I⁴³

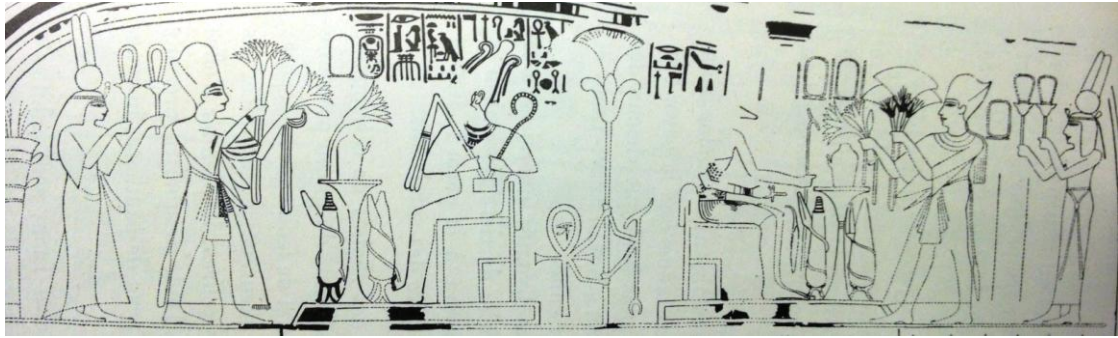
Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari, Horemheb*, Mutnedjemet*

Location in tomb: Hall (above niche)



(After PM I.I: 334)

⁴³ Although the tomb may have been completed in the Nineteenth Dynasty, it has been included as it is likely that the construction began in the reign of Horemheb.



(Baud and Drioton 1932: fig. 13)

Texts:⁴⁴

Above and behind Mutnejemet (right to left
and horizontal):⁴⁵

1) [*hmt nsw wrt Mwt-ndm-mt m3^c-hrw*]

1) [Great royal wife, Mutnedjemet,
true of voice,]

2) [*irt sššt n hr.k nfr*]

2) [who plays the sistrum in front of
her beautiful face.]

Above Horemheb (right to left):⁴⁶

1) [*nb h^cw Hr-m-hb mry-Imn m3^c-hrw*]

1) [Lord of the Two Lands,
Horemheb, true of voice.]

Above the offering table and Osiris (left to
right):

1) *nb-t3wy Dsr-hpr-R Stp-n-R^c*

1) Lord of the Two Lands,
Djeserkheperra-Setepenra

⁴⁴ Where the texts are not visible in photos of the tomb, or in the line drawing, they have been based on those given in Baud and Drioton (1932: 42-44).

⁴⁵ Based on Baud and Drioton (1932: 44).

⁴⁶ Again, based on Baud and Drioton (1932: 44).

	(Horemheb),
2) <i>Wsir hnty</i>	2) Osiris, Foremost
3) <i>imntyw</i>	3) of the Westerners,
4) <i>ntr ʕ3 hk3</i>	4) great god, ruler
5) <i>ʕnhw [nb?] nhh</i>	5) of the living, [lord of (?)] eternity

In front of Amenhotep I (left to right):⁴⁷

1) [<i>nb-t3wy Dsr-k3-Rʕ</i>]	1) [Lord of the Two Lands, Djeserkara,]
2) [<i>nb hʕw Imn-htp hk3 W3st</i>]	2) [Lord of appearances, Amenhotep (I), ruler of Thebes]

In front of Ahmose-Nefertari (left to right):⁴⁸

1) [<i>hmt-nsw wrt Bḥ-ms-nfrt-iry</i>]	1) [Great royal wife, Ahmose- Nefertari,]
2) [<i>irt sššt n hr.k nfr</i>]	2) [Who plays the sistrum in front of her beautiful face.]

Above Anubis (right to left):

1) [<i>Inpw imywt</i>] ⁴⁹ <i>t3-dsrt</i>	1) [Anubis, who is in] ⁵⁰ the holy land,
2) <i>ntr-ʕ3</i>	2) great god

⁴⁷ Entirely erased. The reconstruction is based on Baud and Drioton (1932: 44)

⁴⁸ Again, this section has not survived, and so the reconstruction is based on Baud and Drioton (1932: 44)

⁴⁹ See Baud and Drioton (1932: 43).

⁵⁰ Lit. 'who is in', although the determinative points to this being a reference to a fetish of Anubis.

References:

Baud and Drioton 1932: 43-44, fig. 13

Hollender 2009: 28-30

PM I.I: 340

D00M13

Two registers both show the tomb owner and wife standing in front of two figures with a table of offerings between them. In the top register they stand in front of Duamutef and Nephthys; in the bottom register they stand in front of Qebehsenuef and Menkauhor.

Tomb: (Not located)

Owner: Thuthu

Location: Saqqara

Date: Late Eighteenth Dynasty

Royal figures: Menkauhor

Location in tomb: Unknown



(Jonckheere 1958: fig. 24)

Texts:⁵¹

Columns above deceased and wife (right to

left, lower register):

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) <i>wsir sš swnw [Twtw m³ᵇ-hrw⁵² ...] mr wi³</i> | 1) The Osiris, scribe, physician, |
| <i>nbt pr Nᵇiw(?) Pth⁵³ [...]</i> | [Thuthu, true of voice, ...] ⁵⁵ lady of |
| | the house, Naiw(?). Ptah [...] |

Columns above Menkauhor and

Qebehsenuef (left to right, lower register):

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1) <i>im³hy hr Kbḥ-snw-f wsir nb-t³wy⁵⁴ Mn-</i> | 1) Honoured by Qebehsenuef, the |
| <i>k³(w)-Hr m³ᵇ[-hrw ...]</i> | Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, |
| | Menka(u)hor, true [of voice ...] |

References:

Jonckheere 1958: fig. 24

PM III.2: 820

Vymazalová and Coppens 2008: 36-37

⁵¹ The lower register only has been translated, as this is the part that contains a depiction of Menkauhor.

⁵² This is reconstructed based on the upper register, although due to space restrictions in the lower register, *m³ᵇ-hrw* may have been omitted.

⁵³ Presumably this is part of a new phrase which relates to the part of the image that has not survived, most likely a name.

⁵⁴ There are faint traces of what appear to be these signs here.

⁵⁵ The meaning of *mr wi³* is uncertain without the signs that precede them.

D00M14

Menkauhor stands with a hawk above him and a table of offerings in front of him. In his right hand he holds an ankh and a *hḏ* sceptre, while in his left hand he holds a *w3s* sceptre. He wears a *nms* headdress.

Tomb: (Not located)

Owner: Amenemonet

Location: Saqqara

Date: Late Eighteenth Dynasty

Royal figures: Menkauhor

Location in tomb: Unknown



(Berlandini-Grenier 1976: pl. liii)

Texts:

To the right of Menkauhor:

1) *nṯr nfr nb-t3wy Mn-k3w-Hr di ʕnh mi Rʕ*

1) Good God, Lord of the Two

Lands, Menkauhor, given life like Ra

Behind Menkauhor:

1) [... *nb 3w-ib*] *nb mḥ(?)*⁵⁶ *nb mi Rꜥ dt*

1) [All ...] all [joy], all (?) like Ra
forever.

Columns to the right of Nekhbet:⁵⁷

1) [*Nḥbt Nḥn*] *ḥd Nḥn*

1) [Nekhbet <of> Hierakonpolis],
white <of> Hierakonpolis,

2) *nbt pt* [*nbt*] *nb-t3wy*

2) Lady of the sky, [Lady] of the Two
Lands.

References:

Berlandini-Grenier 1976

PM III.2: 820

⁵⁶ Possibly *Mḥw* ('Lower Egypt') or *Mḥw.s* ('crown of Lower Egypt'), but the damage to the signs, and to those that precede them, make interpretation of this phrase impossible.

⁵⁷ Based on Berlandini-Grenier (1976: 305), although several signs are damaged or unclear.

APPENDIX 7. ROYAL ANCESTORS DEPICTED IN PRIVATE TOMBS BY DATE

This table does not include royal figures that were living at the time that the depiction was created. Those whose status (as living or deceased) is uncertain, are included but within brackets.

Where the tomb has been dated to several reigns, the scene has been included under the latest date given.¹

Figure depicted Date of tomb	Menkauphor	Ahmoses-Inhapy	Ahmoses-Henut-Tamahu	Ahmoses Sipair	Amenhotep I	Ahmoses-Nefertari	Thutmose I	Hatshepsut	Thutmose III	Amenhotep III
Thutmose III		1	1			1				
Amenhotep II							1	1		
Amenhotep III				1	1	1			2	
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)					1	1				(2)
Horemheb					3	3				
'18 th Dynasty'	2									

¹ This does not include D05T02, which has been included under the reign of Thutmose III, as it has been primarily dated to this reign. D14T12 has also been included under the reign of Horemheb, although it may have been completed in the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

APPENDIX 8. LOCATIONS OF DEPICTIONS OF ROYAL ANCESTORS BY DATE

This table shows the location of tombs which include scenes of royal ancestors, organised by the date of their creation. Where the tomb has been dated to more than one reign, it has been included under the last reign that it has been dated to.¹

Location Date	Thebes				Amarna	Saqqara
	Sheik Abd el-Qurna	Dra Abu el-Naga	El-Khokha	El-Asasif		
Thutmose III ³	2					
Amenhotep II	1					
Amenhotep III	1	2 ²				
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)			1	1	1	
Horemheb		2	1			
'Late Eighteenth Dynasty'						2

¹ This does not include D05T02, which has been included under the reign of Thutmose III, as it has been primarily dated to this reign. D14T12 has also been included under the reign of Horemheb, although it may have been completed in the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

² These two depictions are found in the same tomb, TT161.

³ No depictions have been dated to earlier than the reign of Thutmose III and so kings prior to this reign have not been included in the table.

APPENDIX 9. LOCATIONS OF DEPICTIONS OF ROYAL ANCESTORS BY ANCESTOR DEPICTED

This table shows the location of scenes of deceased royal ancestors, organised by the ancestor who is depicted.

Where the status of the individual (as living or deceased) is uncertain, the figure has been included in brackets.

Location Royal ancestor	Thebes				Amarna	Saqqara
	Sheik Abd el- Qurna	Dra Abu el-Naga	El- Khokha	El-Asasif		
Menkauhor						2
[Ahmose-Inhapy]	1					
Ahmose-Henut- Tamehu	1					
Amenhotep I		3	2			
Ahmose-Nefertari	1	3	2			
Ahmose-Sipair		1				
Thutmose I	1					
Hatshepsut	1					
Thutmose III	1	1				
Amenhotep III				(1)	(1)	

APPENDIX 10. DEPICTIONS NOT INCLUDED IN THE CATALOGUE

1. Tomb (TT A8)

‘Deceased, wife and parents (?) adore Amenophis I and Ahmosi Nefertere in kiosk’
(PM I.I: 450).

Owner: Amenemheb

Location: Thebes

Date: Aye-Horemheb

Royal figures: Amenhotep I, Ahmose-Nefertari

Location in tomb: Hall

Reason for not including this scene in the catalogue:

There is no image of this scene available, and so it has not been possible to analyse it beyond the brief description of Porter and Moss or to confirm that the details are correct.

References:

PM I.I: 450

2. Tomb (TT C6)

‘Deceased before Thutmose IV in kiosk’ (PM I.I: 458)¹

Owner: Ipy

Location: Thebes

Date: Thutmose IV – Amenhotep III

Royal figures: Thutmose IV²

Location in tomb: Hall

Reason for not including this scene in the catalogue:

There is no image of this scene available, and so it has not been possible to analyse it beyond the descriptions given in literature or to confirm that the details are correct.

References:

Manniche 1988: 127-130

PM I.I: 458

¹ Manniche (1988: 129-130) analyses remaining records of this scene, concluding that it probably depicts Thutmose IV as deceased.

² The dating of this tomb has been queried; Porter and Moss (PM I.I: 458) attribute it to the reign of Thutmose IV, in which case the depiction could be seen as an image of the living king. However, Kampp (1996: 620) suggests that it may date to the slighter later reign of Amenhotep III. Manniche (1988: 128-130) compares this scene with other scenes of the deceased before the living king and concludes that it does not fit into this category (based on its location within the tomb and the clothing of the deceased tomb owner) which supports Kampp’s theory that the depiction was created after the death of Thutmose IV and, therefore, treats him as a deceased king.

3. Tomb (TT78)³

Scene of the weighing of the heart. Above the assessors are cartouches of four kings;

Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep II and Thutmose III

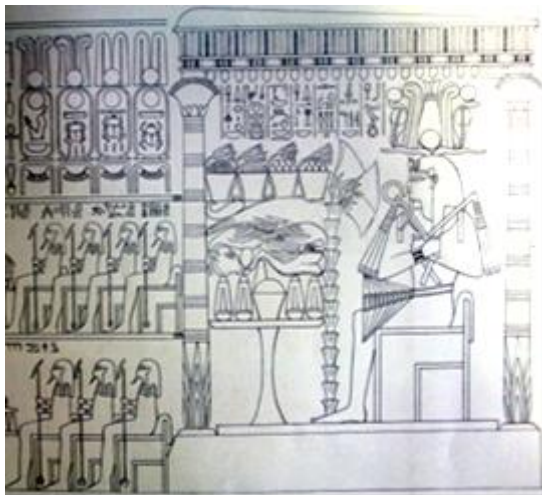
Owner: Horemheb

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Amenhotep II – Amenhotep III

Royal figures: Thutmose III, Amenhotep II*, Thutmose IV*, Amenhotep III*

Location in tomb: Passage



Bouriant 1891: pl. v

Texts:

(Cartouches above assessors, left to right)

1) *Nb-m3^ct-R^c*

1) Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III)

2) *Mn-hprw-R^c*

2) Menkheperura (Thutmose IV)

3) *3-hprw-R^c*

3) Aakheperura (Amenhotep II)

4) *Mn-hpr-R^c*

4) Menkheperra (Thutmose III)

³ This depiction is included, however, in the catalogue for the final chapter of this study, forgetting (see F09T02).

References:

Bouriant 1891: pl. v

L.D. iii: 78[a, b]

PM I.I: 155

Reason for not including this scene in the catalogue:

Although part of a depiction, the only reference to a royal ancestor is within a cartouche. There is no image of the royal ancestor.

4. Tomb (TT45)

Deceased and wife adore a waterlily (symbol of Nefertem), supported by five men in a shrine. One man wears a uraeus on his forehead, and the other four may also be kings.⁴

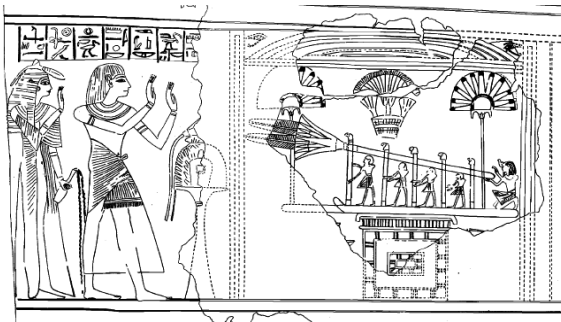
Owner: Djout/Djoutemheb

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Amenhotep II - Twentieth Dynasty

Royal figures: Uncertain (five unidentified kings)

Location in tomb: Hall



Davies and Gardiner 1948: pl. vi

References:

Davies and Gardiner 1948: pl. vi

PM I.I: 85

Reason for not including this scene in the catalogue:

Despite the tomb being built in the Eighteenth Dynasty, it was then reused in the Twentieth Dynasty; the texts around this scene show that it was created in the second period of use, rather than in the one relevant to this study. Furthermore, it is not possible to identify the kings, and so they cannot be confirmed as deceased.

⁴ Davies and Gardiner (1948: 8) describe the scene as ‘the lotus emblem of the god Nefertem, housed in a shrine and supported by dead kings’.

5. Tomb (TT192)

Several scenes depicting the *sed*-festivals of Amenhotep III.

Owner: Kheruef

Location: el-Asasif

Date: Amenhotep III - Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)

Royal figures: Amenhotep III, Teye

Location in tomb: Portico

References:

Fakhry 1943: 455-457

PM I.I: 298-299

Reason for not including this scene in the catalogue:

There has been much debate over whether scenes of Amenhotep III in this tomb were constructed during his reign or after his death.⁵ The scenes of Amenhotep III's *sd*-festival, however, clearly show him as a living ruler, rather than relating to his memorial cult, and are taken from the life of Kheruef. For this reason they are not depictions of a deceased king but are scenes of the living king from the life of the tomb owner, even if they were finally constructed in the years immediately following Amenhotep III's death.

⁵ See app. 6 for details.

APPENDIX 11. TABLE OF TITLES RELATING TO ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS

Ref. No.	Name	Title	Criteria ¹					
			100 yrs	50 yrs	Temple	<i>ḥwt</i>	Ritual	<i>mꜣ-ḥrw</i> ²
T03T01	Bak	Chief steward of Thutmose I						X
T05M02	Amenmesu	<i>ḥry-ḥb</i> of Thutmose I					X	
T05T03	Ahmose	First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Amun in Henkhet-Ankh			X		X	
T05T04	Tur	Hall-keeper of Thutmose III						
T05T05	Senmen	<i>wꜥb</i> of Ahmose					X	
T05T06		Overseer of the granaries(?) of Ahmose						
T05T07		<i>wꜥb</i> of Amenhotep I					X	
T05T08		Overseer of the granaries(?) of Amenhotep I						
T05T09		<i>wꜥb</i> of Thutmose I					X	
T05T10		Overseer of the granaries(?) of Thutmose I						
T05T11		<i>wꜥb</i> of Thutmose II					X	
T05T12		Overseer of the granaries(?) of Thutmose II						
T05T13		First [...] of Hatshepsut					X	
T05T14		First [...] of Thutmose III					X	
T05T15	Heqanefer	<i>wꜥb</i> of the royal <i>kꜣ</i> of Thutmose III in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T05T16		Doorkeeper of Amun of the royal <i>kꜣ</i> of Thutmose III in Henkhet-Ankh			X			

¹ These ‘criteria’ are some of the markers that are used to suggest that the title relates to a memorial cult (as discussed in more detail in ch. 4.2). They are not the only markers, and others are discussed in more detail for specific titles (see app. 12), but they are the most commonly found.

² After the name of the royal ancestor.

Ref. No.	Name	Title	Criteria					
			100 yrs	50 yrs	Temple	<i>hwt</i>	Ritual	<i>mꜣ-hrw</i>
T05T17	Samut	Hall-keeper(?) of Thutmose III						
T05T18	User	Chief steward of Thutmose I						
T06T19	Amenhotep	Pure of hands in front of Thutmose I					X	
T06T20		First king's son of Thutmose I						
T06T21		<i>wꜥb</i> of Thutmose I					X	
T06T22	Ray	Steward of Thutmose I						
T06T23	Nedjem	Overseer of the granaries of Thutmose II						X
T06T24		First <i>hry-hb</i> of Thutmose II					X	X
T06T25	Nedjem	First master of secrets of Thutmose I						
T06T26	Menkheperra	<i>hm-ntr</i> of Amun in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T06T27	Ramose(?)	Steward of Amenhotep I						
T06T28	Amenemhat	Adornment(?) of Amun in Henmet-ankh			X			
T06T29	Nehetsobek	<i>wꜥb</i> of Thutmose I					X	
T06T30	Khaemwaset	<i>wꜥb</i> of Amenhotep I					X	
T07T31	Merymaat	<i>hm-ntr</i> of Amun in Djeser-Djeseru			X		X	
T07T32	Menkheperra seneb	<i>wꜥb</i> of Amun in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T07T33		Scribe of the offerings of Amun in Henkhet-ankh			X			
T07T34	Nebenmaat	Scribe of the temple in Henkhet-ankh			X			
T07T35	Khaemwaset	Fourth <i>hry-hb</i> [...] Thutmose I in Henmet-ankh			X		X	

Ref. No.	Name	Title	Criteria					
			100 yrs	50 yrs	Temple	<i>ḥwt</i>	Ritual	<i>mꜥ-ḥrw</i>
T07T36	Sennefer	Steward of Amenhotep I ³		X				X
T07T37		Overseer of <i>ḥm-ntr(w)</i> of Ahmose-Nefertari		X				
T07T38		First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Amun in Menisut		X	X		X	
T07T39		Festival conductor of Thutmose I		X			X	X
T07T40		Overseer of bulls and controller of cattle of [Amun] in Djoser-Djeseru			X			
T07T41	Mery	<i>wꜥb</i> of the royal mother Iset		x ⁴			X	
T07T42	Nehet	<i>wꜥb</i> of Thutmose I		X			X	
T07T43	Djehutymes	Offerer of Thutmose III					X	
T07T44	Khaemnetjer	<i>wꜥb</i> of Amenhotep II					X	
T07T45	Ra	First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Amun in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T07T46		First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Hathor in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T07T47		First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Thutmose III in Henkhet-ankh			X		X	
T07T48	Kaemamun	Second <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Thutmose III					X	
T07T49	Seked	Second <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Thutmose III					X	
T08T50	Mutneferet	Chantress of Thutmose I		X			X	
T08T51	Neferhebef	<i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Amenhotep II					X	

³ The dates given for the tomb of Sennefer (TT96) are '(Thutmose III)-Amenhotep II'. As the emphasis given in the dating is on the reign of Amenhotep II, it is this reign that has been used when calculating if the royal ancestors included in titles are more than fifty years previous.

⁴ If assumed to be a consort of Thutmose II and, therefore, equated with his reign.

Ref. No.	Name	Title	Criteria					
			100 yrs	50 yrs	Temple	<i>ḥwt</i>	Ritual	<i>mꜥ-ḥrw</i>
T08T52	Piay	First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of Thutmose IV					X	
T08T53	Ipy	Overseer of the boats of Amun / Thutmose IV in the temple of Amun / Thutmose IV ⁵				X		
T09T54	(Unknown)	Steward of the temple of Thutmose III and Amun				X		
T09T55	Neferrenpet	' <i>iry bnrt</i> ' of the temple of Amenhotep III				X		
T09T56	Inhermes	Scribe of work in the temple of Amenhotep III on the west of Thebes				X		
T09T57	Meryptah	<i>sm</i> in the temple of Amenhotep III				X	X	
T11T58	Bathay	Scribe of works in the temple of Smenkhara				X		
T11T59	Pawah	<i>wꜥb</i> of Amun in the temple of Smenkhara in Thebes				X	X	
T11T60		Scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in the temple of Smenkhara in Thebes				X		
T14T61	Sobekmes	<i>wꜥb</i> in the temple of Amenhotep III				X	X	
T14T62		Head <i>it-ntr</i> in the temple of Amenhotep III				X	X	
T14T63	Amenemheb	Steward of the temple of Amenhotep I	X			X		

⁵ The titles given in this tomb include several variations of what appears to be the same role. For this reason, they have all been included as one, rather than being separated into individual titles based on their minor differences (see app. 12 for details).

Ref. No.	Name	Title	Criteria					
			100 yrs	50 yrs	Temple	<i>ḥwt</i>	Ritual	<i>mꜣ-ḥrw</i>
T14T64		<i>wꜥb</i> on the west side of Amun of the son of Ra, Amenhotep I	X				X	
T14M65	Amenemonet	Steward of the temple of Thutmose III	X			X		
T14T66	Maya	Overseer of works of the place of eternity						
T14T67	Djehuty	First <i>ḥm-ntr</i> of the Lord of the Two Lands Ahmose-Nefertari	X				X	
T00T68	Nebwa	<i>wꜥb</i> in the temple of Thutmose I	X			X	X	
T00T69		Scribe in the temple of Thutmose I	X			X		

APPENDIX 12. DETAILS OF PERSONAL TITLES RELATING TO ROYAL MEMORIAL CULTS

This catalogue is intended to be used alongside app. 11. While app. 11 lists each title separately, this appendix details the pieces of evidence on which the titles are found. Often more than one title is found in the same text as they relate to the same individual, and so these titles are included together in this appendix. For example, the funerary cone recorded by Davies and Macadam (1957: 393, 394) includes two titles for the individual Heqanefer; these titles are listed in App. 11 as T05T15 and T05T16. As they appear on the same funerary cone they are, however, included as one entry in this appendix. Furthermore, where two or more funerary cones are identical (as with Davies and Macadam (1957: 393, 394) which belong to Heqanefer), only one has been included in the catalogue, with a note referring the reader to other examples. Similarly, when an identical title is given more than once within tomb decoration, only one example has been analysed.¹ Where evidence has been provenanced to a specific tomb, the date given is that of Kampp (1996). Where not, the date is based on those found in other relevant literature, in particular Haring (1997) and Zenihiro (2009).

The funerary cones in this appendix are recorded in Davies and Macadam (1957),² Dibley et al. (2009) and Zenihiro (2009), with each publication being organised in numerical order. To avoid unnecessary repetition, these three publications have not been included in the references for each cone but their importance should not be ignored.³

¹ This is because the emphasis in the analysis is on the titles themselves, rather than on the ways in which they were recorded (although this is also discussed briefly).

² Images from Davies and Macadam (1957) are reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

³ References to Davies and Macadam have, however, been included when a second identical cone exists to refer the reader to the second one.

T03T01

Name: Bak (tomb unknown)

Date: Thutmose I

Title: Chief steward of Thutmose I⁴

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *imy-r pr wr n ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ m3ʕ-hrw*
- 2) *B3k m3ʕ-hrw ms.n*
- 3) *nbt pr N3y ir.n*
- 4) *s3b Ihy*

Translation:

- 1) Chief steward of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), true of voice,
- 2) Bak, true of voice, born of
- 3) the lady of the house, Nay, born of
- 4) the dignitary, Ihy.

References:

Davies and Macadam 1957: 85, 86⁵

Haring 1997: 429



Davies and Macadam
1957: 85

⁴ Haring (1997: 428) notes that without the inclusion of the name of the memorial temple of Thutmose I (*Hnmt-ʕnh*) in the title, it is impossible to know whether it referred to the memorial temple or to the chapel of Thutmose I that was in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (see PM II: 361). Both sites, however, were intended to function as memorial chapels.

⁵ Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 86) is a copy of Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 85), written in reverse, possibly to stand opposite it. The text and reading are, however, identical although the second cone is more damaged.

T05M02

Name: Amenmesu⁶

Date: Thutmose III⁷

Title: *hry-hb* of Thutmose I

1. Graffito, Mortuary temple of Sneferu at Meidum

Transliteration:

7) *hry-hb n ʕ3-hpr-k3-Rʕ*

8) *Imn-msw*⁸

Translation:

7) *hry-hb* of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I),

8) Amenmesu

References:

Petrie 1892: pl. xxxiii[7-8]

See also:

G05M13



Based on Petrie 1892:
pl. xxxiii[7-8]

⁶ Haring (1997: 428) includes under this individual the title of *ʕm ntr n k3 nswt* (*ʕm ntr* of the royal ka') which is found both in TT51 (Davies 1927: pl. xiii) and on a funerary cone (Winlock 1929: 68, no. 12). However, the discrepancies in date (the graffito is dated to the reign of Thutmose III while the text in TT51 and the funerary cone are Ramesside) shows that they are, in fact, two separate individuals.

⁷ This graffito is dated to year 41 of the reign of Thutmose III, but the position of *hry-hb* of Thutmose I' refers to the father of the graffitist, Amenmesu. If one assumes that the son was born approximately 20 years after his father (see, for example, Bierbrier (1975: xvi) for use of this age as an estimate) and that the graffitist himself was at least 15 years of age when he wrote the graffito (as the term *sš* is unlikely to have been used before that age (Ragazzoli 2014)) then this would place the birth of Amenmesu within the reign of Thutmose I but not his working life. As these dates are only an estimate, however, it is possible that Amenmesu was of working age while Thutmose I was on the throne. It is, therefore, difficult to be certain if the titles relating to Thutmose I were held during his reign or after his death.

⁸ See G05M13 for hieratic text.

T05T03

Name: Ahmose (owner of TT121)⁹

Date: Thutmose III

Title: First *ḥm-ntr* of Amun in Henkhet-Ankh

1. Funerary Cone

Transliteration:

1) *ḥm-ntr tpy n 'Imn*

2) *m Ḥnkt-ḥ 3ḥms*

Translation:

1) First *ḥm-ntr* of Amun

2) in Henkhet-Ankh, Ahmose

References:

Haring 1997: 432



Davies and Macadam
1957: 297

⁹ Ahmose is the father of Ra (the owner of TT72; see below, T07T46-T07T48). It is notable that the title *ḥm ntr tpy* in the memorial temple of Thutmose III is held by both men, supporting the suggestion that such roles were hereditary. Macadam (DALEX 1: 7) identifies the owner of this funerary cone with the owner of TT121.

T05T04

Name: Tur

Date: Thutmose III¹⁰

Title: Hall-keeper of Thutmose III

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *im³hy hr*
- 2) *Wsir iry-ꜥt n*
- 3) *Mn-hpr-[Rꜥ] Twr*

Translation:

- 1) Honoured by
- 2) Osiris, hall-keeper of
- 3) Menkheper[ra] (Thutmose III), Tur.

References:

Haring 1997: 435



Davies and Macadam
1957: 152

¹⁰ Dibley et al. (2009: 217) do not include a date for this cone but Zenihiro (2009: 94) dates it to the reign of Thutmose III. Despite the question of whether it refers to a memorial cult (indeed, it does not fulfil any of the criteria noted in app. 11), this study will follow Haring's inclusion of the cone in his list of titles relating to memorial cults (see Haring (1997: 435)), although with caution.

T05T05 – T05T14

Name: Senmen¹¹

Date: Thutmose III¹²

Titles: *wꜥb* of Ahmose; overseer of the granaries(?) of Ahmose; *wꜥb* of Amenhotep I ; overseer of the granaries(?) of Amenhotep I; *wꜥb* of Thutmose I ;overseer of the granaries(?) of Thutmose I; *wꜥb* of Thutmose II;

¹¹ Macadam (DALEX 1: 161) writes simply ‘many illegible titles’ under funerary cone no. 375. Vivó (2002: 25) suggests that it may have belonged to the owner of TT252 but this is purely circumstantial and the identification with TT252 is not followed by others (see Dibley et al. (2009: 247), Haring (1997: 426)). The reign of Ahmose ended more than 50 years before the beginning of the reign of Hatshepsut, which fulfils one of the categories in app. 11. While the rest of the titles on the cone do not fall into this category, their inclusion in a list alongside that of Ahmose suggests that the titles were of the same nature (i.e. they were either all relating to memorial cults or all to the royal household). Haring (1997: 426) suggests that these titles may refer to the service of each royal figure during their reign rather than being attached to their memorial cults; in a later communication (Haring 2015) he does, however, note that while there are some indications that the titles may relate to the service of living pharaohs, he would not now rule out their having been related to memorial cults. The suggestion that these titles refer to the service of the living king, outside of the realms of a memorial temple, is supported by the inclusion of the *ntr-nfr* title for each individual (see also Haring (2015)). This title is usually used to refer to the living king (see above, 3.6.1.2.2.). There are, however, instances of it being used to denote deceased kings, for example in the tomb of Qen (TT4) which dates to the reign of Ramesses II, where Amenhotep I is shown alongside Hathor, Anubis and Ahmose-Nefertari; in this depiction Amenhotep I is given the epithet *ntr-nfr* (see PM I.I: 11, Černý (1927: 174, pl. IV[1]), El Shazly (2008: 61-62)). It can also be found, relating again to Amenhotep I, in TT335 (PM I.I: 403, Bruyère (1926: fig. 106)), which dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty. While Amenhotep I may be seen as an extraordinary case it does demonstrate that the use of such epithets did not always follow the same rules. A further use of this title, in which the royal individual is not Amenhotep I, occurs in TT2, again dating the reign of Ramesses II. Here the tomb owner, Khabekhenet, stands before two rows of kings, queens and princes. While most of the royal figures are given the epithet *nb/nbt* *ḥwy* one also has the title *ntr-nfr*; this individual is named ‘Sekhenetnebra’. As the original drawing is too damaged to be certain of the reading it is difficult to be sure which king is being referred to here. While Redford (1986: 48) transcribes this name as ‘Sekhentenra’ it would appear, from Lepsius’ drawing (Lepsius 1849-1858: 2[a]), that the name is actually written ‘Sekhenetnebra’. If Redford’s suggestion is correct then it is possible that this is an unusual spelling of the name of Sekhenenra Taa, which would fit into the context of the scene as this king is depicted before Kamose. Regardless of his exact identity, this individual does appear to be a royal ancestor (as Ramesses II, the ruling pharaoh, is shown elsewhere in the scene). As such, this is an example of a royal ancestor being given the epithet *ntr-nfr*, although the reason for his being singled out for such a title is unclear. Therefore, the possibility that the titles in T05T05-T05T14 refer to the service of deceased kings cannot be entirely ruled out, and so they have been included in the catalogue, although with caution. Additionally, if the titles refer to the concurrent service of living kings, then Senmen must have lived a minimum age of approximately 70 (Haring (2015) writes that his career would have necessarily spanned at least 60 years). This adds weight to the possibility that the titles relate to positions in memorial cults. Furthermore, as noted below (see T06T21), it is probable that the title *imy-r pr wr* followed by the name of a king related to a memorial cult rather than to the royal household; it is arguable, therefore, that the same practice may have applied to other overseers’ titles, such as *imy-r šnꜥw*.

¹² The dating of this cone is uncertain. However, the absence of Amenhotep II in the list of rulers suggests that the cone was created prior to his accession, in the reign of Thutmose III (although if the titles relate to memorial cults, as discussed above, the possibility that the cone is from a later date should not be ignored (see also Zenihiro (2009: 158)). Helck (1959: 372) suggests that the owner of this cone was the brother of Senenmut and may, therefore, have been the owner of TT252. This is not, however, conclusive.

overseer of the granaries(?) of Thutmose II; first [...] of Hatshepsut; first [...] of Thutmose III

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) $w^c b$ *imy-r šn^cw(?)*¹³ *n*
- 2) *ntr nfr Nb-ph(ty)-R^c n ntr nfr Dsr-k3-R^c*¹⁴ [...]
- 3) *n ntr nfr ʿ3-hpr-k3-R^c n ntr nfr [ʿ3-hpr-n-]R^c*¹⁵ [...]¹⁶
- 4) *tpy(?)*¹⁷ *n ntr nfr(t) M3^ct-k3-R^c [ʿnh.ti]*¹⁸ *n ntr nfr Mn-hpr-R^c [di]*¹⁹ *ʿnh*
- 5) *pdy* [...] *šn^cw(?)*
- 6) [...] *Nb-ph(ty)-R^c Sn-mn* [...] ²⁰
- 7) [...] *M3^ct-k3-R^c ʿnh.ti ntr nfr Mn-hpr-R^c di ʿnh dt*
- 8) [...] *nb* [...]
- 9) [...]

Translation:

- 1) $w^c b$, overseer of the storehouses(?)²¹ of
- 2) the good god Nebpeh(ty)ra (Ahmose), of the good god Djoserkara (Amenhotep I) [...],
- 3) of the good god Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), of the



Davies and Macadam
1957: 375

¹³ This title may refer both to the storehouses themselves and to the personnel who worked within them (Haring 1997: 242-243).

¹⁴ Zenihiro (2009: 158) suggests the inclusion of *m3^c-hrw* here, although the text is too badly damaged to be sure of this reading.

¹⁵ See Zenihiro (2009: 158) for an alternative copy, based on a cone recorded in Lepsius (LD iii: 39[e]) in which the name of the king is better preserved.

¹⁶ Helck (1959: 372) suggests '*hm-ntr*', while Zenihiro writes '*m3^c-hrw*'.

¹⁷ Zenihiro does not include this sign in his copy, but it is clearly included in that of Davies and Macadam. If there is a *tp* sign then it would imply that the text preceding is a title, possibly that put forward by Helck (1959: 372) of *hm-ntr*. But, again, this is not confirmed.

¹⁸ Helck (1959: 372) suggests '*hry-hb*' but it is more likely that the text here originally read '*ʿnh.ti*' (see also line 7). Lepsius' copy of a matching cone also reads '*ʿnh.ti*' (see LD iii: 39[e]).

¹⁹ See also Lepsius (LD III: 39[e]).

²⁰ There are several possible interpretations given of this line. Zenihiro (2009: 158) writes [...] '*hm-ntr jmn hm-ntr nb t3wj* [...]' while Helck (1959: 372) suggests '*m3^c-hrw jm3^hhy hr ntr-nfr nb-t3wy*'.

²¹ There is a question over whether both of the titles listed, $w^c b$ and *imy-r šn^cw*, were related to the memorial cults of the royal individuals listed, or if only the second title in each case was. As the first, $w^c b$, is a ritual title, it is likely that was connected with a cult and so it seems probable that both titles were related to the cults of the pharaohs that are listed (the title directly before the name of the king is clearly linked with that king due to its position in the phrase). Furthermore, Senmen is recorded elsewhere as having been a $w^c b$ *Nb-ph(ty)-R^c* (see Urk. IV: 418[14]), which confirms that he was a $w^c b$ of Ahmose. It can be assumed, therefore, that the title $w^c b$ does relate to service of the royal individuals listed. The same assumption will be given in other instances where $w^c b$ is paired with another title before the name or temple of a royal individual (for example T05T15).

good god [Aakheperen]ra (Thutmose II), [...]

4) first(?) [...] of the good god Maatkara (Hatshepsut),
[may she live], of the good god Menkheperra

(Thutmose III), [given] life,

5) bowman [...] granary(?) [...]

6) [...] Nebpeh(ty)ra, Senmen, [...]

7) [... Maatkara] may she live, and the good god
Menkheperra, given life forever.

8) [...] lord/all [...]

9) [...]

References:

Haring 1997: 426

Helck 1959: 372

LD III: 39[e]

T05T15-T05T16

Name: Heqanefer

Date: Thutmose III

Titles: *wꜥb* of the royal *ka* of Thutmose III in Henkhet-ankh; Doorkeeper of Amun of the royal *ka* of Thutmose III in Henkhet-Ankh

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *wꜥb imy-r sbꜣw*²² *n Imn*
- 2) *n kꜣ-nswt Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ m Ḥnkt-ꜥnh*
- 3) *Ḥkꜣ-nfr ḥmt.f mrt.f Tꜣ-ddt-s*
- 4) *sꜣt snt mnꜥy n nb tꜣwy Nbt*
- 5) *-tꜣ mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*

Translation:

- 1) *wꜥb*,²³ doorkeeper of Amun
- 2) of the royal *ka* of Menkheperra (Thutmose III) in Henkhet-Ankh,
- 3) Heqanefer, his wife who he loves, Tadedetes,
- 4) daughter of the sister, nurse of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebet-
- 5) ta, true of voice.

References:

Davies and Macadam 1957: nos. 393, 394²⁴

Haring 1997: 434



Davies and Macadam
1957: 393

²² There is disagreement about the translation of this title. It has been translated by Helck (1961: 97) as 'Vorsteher der Lehrer' ('Overseer of Teachers') (see also Wörterbuch 4: 85) but also read as *imy-r sbꜣw* which can be translated as 'doorkeeper' (Ward 1982: 43). It is uncertain which is the correct understanding although it is more likely that it was that of a doorkeeper given the context of a temple cult.

²³ See above (T05T05-T05T14) for discussion relating to the presumption that *wꜥb* relates to the memorial cult of the king. Haring (1997: 434) also lists the title *wꜥb* as belonging to a memorial cult.

²⁴ These two cones are identical.

T05T17

Name: Samut

Date: Thutmose III

Title: Hallkeeper(?) of Thutmose III

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *im³hy hr*
- 2) *Wsir iry[-ʿt(?)]*²⁵ *n*
- 3) *Mn-hpr-[Rʿ] S3-mwt*
- 4) *m3ʿ-hrw hr ntr-[ʿ3]*²⁶

Translation:

- 1) Honoured by
- 2) Osiris, [hall(?)]-keeper²⁷ of
- 3) Menkheperra (Thutmose III), Samut,
- 4) true of voice by the [great]-god.

References:

Haring 1997: 434



Davies and Macadam
1957: 413

²⁵ Haring (1997: 434) reads the title as *ʿhry bnityw* ('chief confectioner'), which is probably the same role as found in T09T55. See Helck (1959: 372) for reading of text as *ʿiry-ʿt n Mn-hpr-Rʿ*.

²⁶ This is a likely epithet, given the space (see also Zenihiro (2009: 171)).

²⁷ Haring (1997: 434) notes that this title can also be found on a statue, Louvre A53 (see PM I.II: 792). Legrain (1906: 187) translates the term as 'chief des gardiens des dattiers', while Porter and Moss (PM I.II; 792) write 'purveyor of dates'.

T05T18

Name: User (owner of TT21)

Date: Thutmose I – Thutmose III²⁸

Title: Chief steward of Thutmose I

1. Tomb inscription

Transliteration:

imy-r pr wr n ꜥ3-hpr-k3-Rꜥ

Translation:

Chief steward of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I)

References:

Davies 1913: pls. xix(4), xxvi, xxviii

Haring 1997: 429



After Davies 1913: pl.

xxvi

²⁸ The dating of this tomb is uncertain with Porter and Moss (PM I.I: 35) assigning it to the reign of Thutmose I, probably due to the high number of cartouches of this king within the tomb decoration. Kampp (1996: 140), however, suggests a wider period of Thutmose I – (Thutmose III), although his use of brackets for the name of Thutmose III implies a preference for the earlier two reigns. It should be noted, however, that all but one occurrence of the name of Thutmose I within the tomb occur in a title of User (Whale 1989: 299) which removes the primary argument for dating of the tomb to the reign of Thutmose I and strengthens the argument that the tomb is of a later date. However, regardless of the exact dating of the tomb, this title was almost certainly related to the memorial cult of Thutmose I rather than to his household (see Davies (1913: 27)); Whale (1989: 299) notes that when the title *imy-r pr wr n* was related to the household of the king it was followed by the term *nswt* rather than by the name of the king (see Helck (1958: 473-487)) which implies that this title related to his memorial cult.

T06T19-T06T21

Name: Amenhotep (owner of TT345)

Date: Thutmose I - Hatshepsut²⁹

Titles: Pure of hands in front of Thutmose I; First king's son of Thutmose I;³⁰ *wꜥb* of Thutmose I

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *wꜥb-ꜥwy m-ḥꜣt*
- 2) *ꜥꜣ-ḥpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ Imn-ḥtp mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*
- 3) *ḥmt.f mrt.f šmꜥyt n*
- 4) *Imn Rn-nfr*

Translation:

- 1) Pure of hands in front of
- 2) Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Amenhotep, true of voice,
- 3) his wife, his beloved, chantress of
- 4) Amun, Rennefer.

References:

Haring 1997: 428



Davies and Macadam
1957: 95

²⁹ The dating of this tomb is ambiguous; Porter and Moss (PM I.I: 413) date it to the reign of Thutmose I (see also Dibley et al. (2009: 209) for the dating of this cone and, therefore, tomb to the reign of Thutmose I) but other scholars have suggested a slightly later date. Kampp (1996: 142) suggests that it should be dated to the reigns of Thutmose I to Hatshepsut, while Whale (1989: 87) argues for a much narrower dating of Thutmose III to Hatshepsut, based on a detailed study of one cartouche that appears to have originally held the name of Hatshepsut before being altered to that of Thutmose I (see app. 16 (F06T01) and ch. 5.4.1 for discussion of this cartouche). This study will follow the wider dating as put forward by Kampp (1996: 142) but will accept that these titles do belong to a memorial cult of Thutmose I (see Haring (1997: 428), Whale (1989: 87)), be it that of a specific memorial temple or of the chapel of Thutmose I at Deir el-Bahri (see PM II: 361). This is partly due to the inclusion of the title *sꜣ nswt* which is closely connected with the memorial cult of Thutmose I (see next footnote).

³⁰ The title *sꜣ nswt* is only found in relation to the memorial cult of Thutmose I (see Kees (1960: 51-52)). Schmitz (1976: 285-286) suggests that this is because of the emphasis by Hatshepsut on the memorial cult of Thutmose I.

2. Funerary cone³¹

Transliteration:

- 1) *s3-nswt tpy*
- 2) *n ʿ3-hpr-k3-RʿImn-ḥtp*
- 3) *ḥmt.f nbt pr šmʿyt*
- 4) *Rnny*³²

Translation:

- 1) First king's son
- 2) of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Amenhotep,
- 3) his wife, lady of the house, chantress
- 4) Reneny (Rennefer?)

References:

See introduction to this appendix

3. Tomb inscription (TT345)

Transliteration:

wʿb s3 nswt tpy n ʿ3-hpr-k3-RʿImn-ḥtp

Translation:

*wʿb*³³ and First King's Son of Aakheperkara
(Thutmose I), Amenhotep

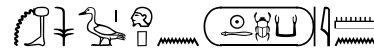
References:

Haring 1997: 428

Urk IV: 105 (15)



Davies and Macadam
1957: 121



After Urk IV: 105[15]

³¹ Haring does not include this funerary cone under this individual although Zenihiro (2009: 77, 85) writes that they are the same person (see also Dibley et al. (2009: 209, 212), Vivó (2002: 26)). The titles of the owner's wife support this hypothesis.

³² The variation in the name of Amenhotep's wife should be noted here. Her identical titles on the two funerary cones suggest that it is the same person and so the reason for the varied spelling of her name is uncertain.

³³ See above (T05T05-T05T14) for discussion of the assumption that this title relates to the memorial cult of the king.

T06T22

Name: Ray (owner of TT124)

Date: (Thutmose I) – Hatshepsut (- Thutmose III)

Title: Steward of the good god, Thutmose I

1. Tomb inscription

Transliteration:

*imy-r pr n ntr nfr ʕ3-hpr-k3-R*³⁴

Translation:

Steward of the good god, Aakheperkara (Thutmose I)

References:

Gardiner and Weigall 1913: 26

Haring 1997: 430



After Gardiner and
Weigall 1913: 26

³⁴ Helck (1961: 90) assumes that this title is associated with a memorial cult, but Haring (1997: 430) is not convinced. However, this study will accept that it was related to a memorial cult. See above, T06T21, for discussion of the use of the word *nswt* in place of the name of the king in the steward's title when relating to the royal household; although Whale (1989: 299) refers to the title *imy-r pr wr*, it is likely that the same practice was used for the slightly less exalted title, *imy-r pr*.

T06T23-T06T24

Name: Nedjem³⁵ (owner of TT-286-?)³⁶

Date: Thutmose III – Hatshepsut

Titles: Overseer of the granaries of Thutmose II; First
hry-hb of Thutmose II

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *imy-r šn^cw*
- 2) *n ʿ3-hpr[-n]-R^{c37} m3^c-hrw*
- 3) *Ndm m3^c-hrw*

Translation:

- 1) Overseer of the granary
- 2) of Aakheper[en]ra (Thutmose II), true of voice,
- 3) Nedjem true of voice.

References:

Gauthier 1919: 183-184

Mond et al. 1940: pl. cvii [9]³⁸



Davies and Macadam
1957: 193

³⁵ The name of the owner may also be read as Aabau (see Zenihiro (2009: 106)). It is possible that this is the same individual as found in T06T25 but the evidence is not conclusive and so the two will be treated separately at this point (see below, T06T25, for more detail on this possibility).

³⁶ There is some debate as to whether these two cones belong to the owner of TT-286- (see Dibley et al. (2009: 223, 228), Kampp (1996: 756), Vivó (2002: 27)).

³⁷ Macadam (Green File: 193) suggests that the king referred to here is, in fact, Thutmose I (*ʿ3-hpr-k3-R^c*).

Gauthier (1919: 183) includes a lacuna below the *h* sign in the cartouche which implies that a sign may be missing; he suggests that the king referred to is Thutmose I, Thutmose II or Amenhotep II, although the most likely is Thutmose II. The damage to the final sign within the cartouche allows for these various possibilities, but comparison with the other funerary cones attributed to Nedjem (Davies and Macadam (1957: nos. 232, 361)) support the conclusion that it reads *ʿ3-hpr-n-R^c* (Thutmose II), as the remaining space within the cartouche following the *hpr* sign does not allow for the inclusion of *k3* (see also Davies and Macadam (1957: 361)) but does follow the pattern required for the inclusion of *n* (see also Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 232)).

³⁸ The copy of the funerary cone in this book does not leave a lacuna at the bottom of the cartouche, although one must assume that there was one based on the other examples which have been found.

2. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *hry-ḥb tpy*
- 2) *n ʕ3-ḥpr-n-Rʕ m3ʕ-ḥrw*
- 3) *Ndm m3ʕ-ḥrw*

Translation:

- 1) First *hry-ḥb*
- 2) of Aakheperenra (Thutmose II), true of voice,
- 3) Nedjem, true of voice.

References:

Gauthier 1919: 184-185

Mond et al. 1940: pl. cvii [8]³⁹



Davies and Macadam
1957: 232

³⁹ This copy of the cone includes a narrow *n* at the bottom of the cartouche.

T06T25

Name: Nedjem⁴⁰

Date: Thutmose III – Hatshepsut(?)⁴¹

Title: First master of secrets of Thutmose I

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

sš hry sšt⁴² tpy n ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ Ndm m3-hrw⁴³

Translation:

Scribe,⁴⁴ first master of the secrets of Aakheperkara
(Thutmose I), Nedjem true of voice



Davies and Macadam
1957: 361

References:

Haring 1997: 430

⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the owner of this funerary cone is the same individual as the Nedjem who holds titles T06T023-T06T024 based on the similar writing of his name, although this is not confirmed (Zenihro (2009: 154) suggests the same owner of the cones, while Dibley et al. (2009: 245) remain silent on the issue). Haring (1997: 430) includes this title alongside the previous one, connecting both with a memorial cult of Thutmose II. However, cone 361 clearly includes a *k3* after the *hpr* sign while cone 232 does not, which leads to the conclusion that the two cones were related to the cults of different kings. This does, of course, lead to the question of whether the cones belonged to the same man as the primary reason for connecting them is the shared title. However, it is quite possible that an individual would have held the same role in more than one cult, either at the same time or successively. The cones of Senenmut (dated to the reign of Hatshepsut) demonstrate that cones belonging to one individual may each show different titles (see Davies and Macadam (1957: 84, 88)), and so the contrasting titles on the cones belonging to Nedjem do not preclude their having belonged to the same person. For the purposes of this study, the two men will be treated as separate individuals but the likelihood that they were the same man is treated as a distinct possibility.

⁴¹ This dating is based on the identification of the cone with the owner of TT-286- which, as noted, is debated.

⁴² See Balanda (2009) for possible interpretations of this title; although primarily related to the service of the living king in the Old Kingdom, it became more frequently used in temple contexts from the Middle Kingdom onwards. He does not, however, include this example in his appendix.

⁴³ Zenihro (2009: 154) and Haring (1997: 430) read this title as ‘first *hry hb* of Thutmose I’ (*‘hry-hb tpy...’*); comparison of this cone with others in the corpus (for example, Davies and Macadam (1957: no. 232)) suggests that this is not the correct understanding of the inscription and so this study will follow an alternate translation, which is also adhered to by Dibley et al. (2009: 122).

⁴⁴ As with T05T05-T05T14, the first title is not explicitly linked with the name of the king in the text. In this instance, however, the title of scribe is not ritual and so it will not be assumed that it is related to the king’s memorial cult (see app. 1 for examples of the title ‘scribe’ in isolation). The ordering of the text on the cone makes it difficult to draw a firm conclusion on which title was connected with the name of the king but it is likely that *hry sšt3* was.

T06T26

Name: Menkeperra (son of Puyemra, owner of TT39)

Date: Thutmose III – Hatshepsut

Title: *ḥm-ntr* of Amun in Henkhet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription (TT39)

Transliteration:

s3.f ḥm-ntr n'Imn m Hnkt-ḥnh [...]

Translation:

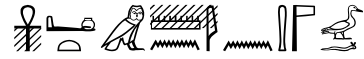
His son,⁴⁵ *ḥm-ntr*⁴⁶ of Amun in Henkhet-ankh [...]

References:

Davies 1923b pl. lxiv

Haring 1997: 433

PM I.II: 73



After Davies 1923b:

pl. lxiv

⁴⁵ Meaning that he is Puyemra's son.

⁴⁶ Helck (1961: 95) writes the title as 'Hoherpriester' ('*ḥm-ntr tpy*') while Haring (1997: 433) disagrees stating that the title is 'god's servant'.

T06T27

Name: Ramose(?)⁴⁷

Date: Thutmose III – (Hatshepsut)⁴⁸

Titles: Steward of Amenhotep I

1. Tomb inscription (TT53)⁴⁹

Transliteration:

imy-r pr n Dsr-k3-R^c

Translation:

Steward of Djeserkara (Amenhotep I)

References:

Bouriant 1893: 71⁵⁰

COI photo 6444

Haring 1997: 427

PM I.I: 104

Urk. IV: 1227[17]



After Bouriant 1893: 71

⁴⁷ The name Ramose cannot be found in the text as transcribed by Sethe and Helck (Urk IV: 1225[17]) but see instead Haring (1997: 427) and Helck (1961: 83).

⁴⁸ Although Kampp (1996) dates this primarily to the reign of Thutmose III, the inclusion of Hatshepsut in the date ('Thutmose III-(Hatshepsut)') suggests that it can be placed more towards the period of their coregency than in Thutmose III's earlier years (see also T06T28 and T06T29). For this reason it has been included under Hatshepsut's reign in the catalogue.

⁴⁹ This tomb belongs to Amenemhat, in which there is a depiction of the deceased before two royal ancestors, Ahmose-Henut-Tamehu and Ahmose-Inhapi (see app. 6, D05T02).

⁵⁰ Bouriant (1893: 71) notes that the name is lost. Haring (1997: 427) identifies an individual named Ramose in this tomb, and suggests that he held the title '*imy-r pr n Dsr-k3-R^c*'; it is likely, therefore, that this is the same individual. Bouriant (1893: 71) suggests that the holder of this title lived towards the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which throws some doubt on whether it referred to a living or deceased king; Haring (1997: 427) agrees, dating him to the reign of Amenhotep I, and questioning whether or not this title relates to a memorial cult. However, see above (T06T21) for discussion of the use of *nswt* instead of the name of the king in stewards' titles relating to the royal household.

T06T28

Name: Amenemhat (owner of TT53)

Date: Thutmose III (- Hatshepsut)

Title: Adornment(?) of Amun in Henmet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription (TT53)

Transliteration:

imy-st^c n Imn n Hnmt-^cnh hr s3-tpy Imn-m-h3[t]

Translation:

Adornment(?)⁵¹ of Amun in Henmet-ankh, of the first
phyle, Amenemha[t].

References:

Urk. IV: 1225[11]

Bouriant 1893: 72⁵²



⁵¹ Haring (1997: 428) does not translate this title, leaving it instead as *'imy-st^c'*, while Faulkner (1962: 19) translates it as 'acolyte' (pl. 'helpers'). The mention of the first phyle (*s3 tpy*) within the title confirms that it is of a ritual nature. Wörterbuch (I: 75) lists the term as a title or a piece of jewellery, supporting the suggestion that the title refers to ornamentation of some kind. Jones (2000: 298) notes translations in an Old Kingdom context of 'helper', 'functionary', 'officiating priest' and 'acolyte'.

⁵² This title also appears to be included in a funerary stela from the tomb, although the large lacuna in the middle of the copied text makes it difficult to be certain that it is the same title.

T06T29

Name: Nehetsobek

Date: Thutmose III (– Hatshepsut)

Title: *wꜥb* of Thutmose I

1. Tomb inscription (TT53)

Transliteration:

wꜥb n ꜥ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ Nḥt-Sbk

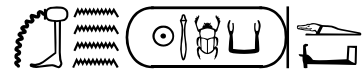
Translation:

wꜥb of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Nehetsobek

References:

Champollion 1844: 513

Haring 1997: 430



After Champollion 1844:

513

T06T30

Name: Khaemwaset (owner of TT261?)⁵³

Date: Thutmose III (– Amenhotep II)

Title: *wꜥb* of Amenhotep I

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

wꜥb Dsr-k3-Rꜥ Hꜥ-m-W3st

Translation:

wꜥb of Djeserkara (Amenhotep I), Khaemwaset

References:

Haring 1997: 427



Davies and Macadam
1957: 272

⁵³ This cone has usually been identified with the owner of TT261 (see, for example, Haring (1997: 427), Kampp (1996: 539)), although the names and titles of the owner are not present in the tomb itself (PM I.I: 344); this leaves open the possibility that the identification is incorrect.

T07T31

Name: Merymaat

Date: (Hatshepsut) – Amenhotep II

Title: *ḥm-ntr* of Amun in Djeser-Djeseru

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *sš ʕt nbt špst*
- 2) *ntrt n Imn Mry-M3ʕt iry n imy-r niwt Wsr*
- 3) *sš ḥtmty-ntr ʕḳ ḥr sšḫ m pr-Imn Mry-M3ʕt m3ʕ-ḥrw*
- 4) *wʕb [...]m⁵⁴ Ipt-swt Mry-M3ʕt m3ʕ-ḥrw*
- 5) *ḥm-ntr n Imn <m> Dsr-dsrw Mry-M3ʕt m3ʕ-ḥrw*
- 6) *iry.n imy-r niwt ḫty Wsr-Imn m3ʕ-ḥrw*
- 7) *ms n nbt pr Twiw m3ʕt-ḥrw*

Translation:

- 1) Scribe of all expensive
- 2) stones of Amun, Merymaat, born of the overseer of the town User,
- 3) scribe of the divine seal who has access to the divine secrets in the temple of Amun,⁵⁵ Merymaat, true of voice,
- 4) *wʕb* in Karnak Merymaat, true of voice,
- 5) *ḥm-ntr* of Amun <in> Djeser-Djeseru, Merymaat, true of voice,
- 6) born (lit. made) of the overseer of the town, vizier Useramun, true of voice,
- 7) born of the lady of the house, Tuiw, true of voice.

References:

Haring 1997: 435



Davies and Macadam
1957: 1

⁵⁴ Possibly originally written as *im*, although *m* makes more sense grammatically.

⁵⁵ Zenihiro (2009: 48) suggests '*sšn*', with a translation of 'one who has access to the lotus', while Macadam (DALEX 2:82) writes 'initiate of secrets'.

2. Tomb inscription (TT100)

Transliteration:⁵⁶

*s3.f hm-ntr n'Imn m Dsr-dsrw Mry*⁵⁷

Translation:

His son, *hm-ntr* of Amun in Djeser-Djeseru,
Mery[maat]

References:

Davies 1943: pl. ix

Haring 1997: 435

PM I.II: 210



After Davies 1943: pl. ix

⁵⁶ The name given in the tomb of Rekhmira appears to read *Mry* without the additional *m3t* signs, although Davies includes a question mark above a space in which *m3t* may originally have been found.

⁵⁷ Note that Merymaat is referred to as *s3* in two different tombs, TT82 and TT100. However, on his funerary cone, Merymaat gives his father's name as Useramun, who is mentioned in TT122 (Haring 1997: 435). Porter and Moss (PM I.I 123, 235) state that Useramun was the owner of TT61 and TT131. One can assume, therefore, that in this instance the use of the term *s3* is not implying a direct filial relationship between the tomb owner and Merymaat.

T07T32-T07T33

Name: Menkheperrasenb (owner of TT79)⁵⁸

Date: Thutmose III – Amenhotep II

Titles: *wꜥb* of Amun in Henkhet-ankh; Scribe of the offerings of Amun in Henkhet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription (TT87)

Transliteration:⁵⁹

1) *wꜥb n [Imn] m Hnkt-ꜥnh [Mn-hpr mꜣꜥ-ḥrw]*

2) *sš ḥtp-ntr n [Imn] m Hnkt-ꜥnh Mn-hpr*

Translation:

1) *wꜥb* of [Amun] in Henkhet-Ankh, [Menkheper, true of voice],

2) scribe of the divine offerings of [Amun] in Henkhet-Ankh, Menkheper

References:

Haring 1997: 433

Urk. IV: 1205[11-12]

2. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

1) *imy-r šnwty nw*

2) *šmꜥw mḥw sš ḥtpw-ntr n*

3) *Imn m Hnkt-ꜥnh Mn-hpr-Rꜥ*

4) *-snb mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*

Translation:

1) Overseer of the two granaries of

2) Upper and Lower Egypt, scribe of the divine offerings of

3) Amun in Henkhet-ankh Menkhepera

4) -senb, true of voice



Davies and Macadam
1957: 90

⁵⁸ In the first text his name appears to be given as 'Menkheper', but the damage to the transcription makes it difficult to be certain if the name is shortened or if the signs are simply lost.

⁵⁹ These texts use the name *Mn-hpr* (see Haring (1997: 433)).

References:

Haring 1997: 434

T07T34

Name: Nebenmaat⁶⁰

Date: Thutmose III – Amenhotep II

Title: Scribe of the temple in Henkhet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription (TT79)

Transliteration:

sš ḥwt m Ḥnkt-ḥn Nb-n-M3ḥ

After Urk. IV: 1201[14]

Translation:

Scribe of the temple in Henkhet-ankh, Nebenmaat.

References:

Haring 1997: 433

Urk. IV: 1201[14]

⁶⁰ Haring (1997: 433) suggests that this individual is the brother of *Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ-snb* (see above, T07T032-T07T033), with a father called *Nḥt-mnw*.

T07T35

Name: Khaemwaset (owner of TT84)⁶¹

Date: Thutmose III – Amenhotep II

Title: Fourth *hry-hb* [...] Thutmose I in Henmet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription

Transliteration:

- 1) *hry-hb T[III]nw n[...]*
- 2) *ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ di ʿnh m Hnmt-ʿnh*
- 3) *Hʿ-m-W3st*

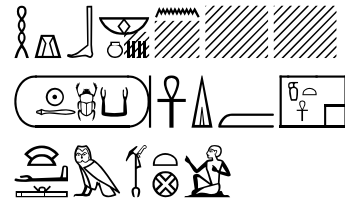
Translation:

- 1) [Fourth] *hry-hb* [...]⁶²
- 2) Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), given life, in Henmet-ankh,
- 3) Khaemwaset.

References:

Haring 1997: 430

Urk. IV: 136 [8-9]



After Urk. IV: 136[8-9]

⁶¹ Porter and Moss (PM I.II: 789) note a statue belonging to a man of the same name, who is given the title ‘scribe of the temple of Thutmose IV’. It is possible that this statue belonged to the same man, in which case he held multiple titles in the same temple. This association is, however, circumstantial.

⁶² It is difficult to know what this lacuna held. Possibly the title relating to Thutmose I is not that given at the beginning of the phrase, or perhaps another title is included which also relates to the memorial cult. It is also possible that the name of the god Amun is given here as the second recipient of Khaemwaset’s ritual role. The likelihood is that the role of *hry-hb* did relate to Thutmose I’s memorial cult, even if a second title was also included.

T07T36-T07T40

Name: Sennefer (owner of TT96)

Date: (Thutmose III -) Amenhotep II

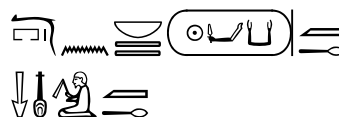
Titles: Steward of Amenhotep I;⁶³ Overseer of *ḥm-ntr(w)* of Ahmose-Nefertari;⁶⁴ First *ḥm-ntr* in Menisut;⁶⁵ Festival conductor of Thutmose I;⁶⁶ Overseer of bulls and controller of cattle of [Amun] in Djeser-Djeseru

1. Tomb inscription (TT96)

Transliteration:

1) *imy-r pr n nb-t3wy Dsr-k3-R^c m3^c-ḥrw*

2) *Sn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw*



After Urk. IV: 1429 [8]

Translation:

- 1) Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands Djeserkara (Amenhotep I), true of voice,
- 2) Sennefer, true of voice.

References:

Haring 1997: 427

Urk. IV: 1429[8]

⁶³ Haring (1997: 427) questions if this title relates to a memorial temple; however, given the dating of TT96 (to the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II) it can be said with confidence that the title does refer to a memorial cult, even if the temple was not the 'official' memorial temple of that king.

⁶⁴ As noted with the title relating to Amenhotep I, this title refers to a temple or shrine which was connected to the deceased Ahmose-Nefertari, even if it cannot be equated with a specific memorial estate.

⁶⁵ The temple *Mn-iswt* was probably dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari (PM II: 422); as discussed above it may have been most closely linked with Ahmose-Nefertari (see ch. 4.3.1.1).

⁶⁶ Again, the status of this title as relating to a memorial cult is questioned by Haring (1997: 431) but the dating of the tomb implies that the title did, in fact, refer to a cult of the deceased Thutmose I.

2. Tomb inscription (TT96)

Transliteration:

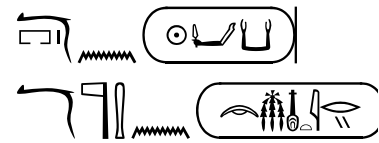
- 1) *imy-r pr n Dsr-k3-R^c*
- 2) *imy-r hm-ntr(w) n 3h-ms-nfrt-iry*

Translation:

- 1) Steward of Djeserkara (Amenhotep I),
- 2) overseer of *hm-ntr(w)* of Ahmose-Nefertari

References:

- Haring 1997: 427
Urk. IV: 1430[4]



After Urk. IV: 1430 [4]

3. Tomb inscription (TT96)

Transliteration:

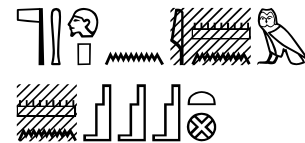
- 1) *hm-ntr tpy n [Imn] m*
- 2) *[Mn]-iswt*

Translation:

- 1) First *hm-ntr* of [Amun]
- 2) in [Men]isut

References:

- Urk. IV: 1426[2]



After Urk. IV: 1425[2]

4. Tomb inscription (TT96)

Transliteration:

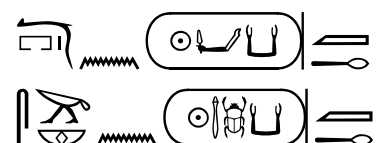
- 1) *imy-r pr n Dsr-k3-R^c m3^c-hrw*
- 2) *sšm hb n 3-hpr-k3-R^c m3^c-hrw*

Translation:

- 1) Steward of Djeserkara (Amenhotep I) true of voice,
- 2) festival conductor of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I)
true of voice.

References:

- Haring 1997: 427, 431
Urk. IV: 1428[3]



After Urk. IV: 1428[3]

5. Tomb inscription (TT96)

Transliteration:

1) *imy-r ihw hrp nftr nt*

2) [*Imn*] *m Dsr-dsrw*

Translation:

1) Overseer of bulls and controller of cattle of

2) [Amun] in Djeser-Djeseru

References:

Urk. IV: 1418[13]



After Urk. IV: 1418[13]

T07T41

Name: Mery

Date: (Thutmose III) – Amenhotep II

Title: *wꜥb* of the royal mother Iset⁶⁷

1. Tomb inscription (TT248)

Transliteration:

1) *wꜥb n mwt-nswt*

2) *Ist Mry mꜣꜥ-hrw*

Translation:

1) *wꜥb* of the royal mother

2) Iset, Mery, true of voice.

References:

Schott photo 3957

Urk. IV: 1642[7]



After Schott photo 3957

⁶⁷ A consort of Thutmose II and mother of Thutmose III (O'Connor 2009: 21). It is probable that Thutmose III included a memorial cult to his mother in one of his temples, possibly in his memorial temple.

T07T42

Name: Nehet

Date: (Thutmose III) – Amenhotep II

Title: *wꜥb* of Thutmose I⁶⁸

1. Tomb inscription (TT248)

Transliteration:

1) *wsir wꜥb [ꜥ3-]hpr-k3-Rꜥ*

2) *Nḥt m3ꜥ-hrw hr ntr ꜥ3*⁶⁹



Translation:

1) The Osiris, *wꜥb* <of> [Aa]kheperkara (Thutmose I),

2) Nehet true of voice, under the great god.

References:

Haring 1997: 430

Urk. IV: 1642[8]

⁶⁸ Haring (1997: 430) suggests that this title may, in fact, refer to a cult of Senwosret I, but the reliance on Helck's reading (Helck 1961: 98) precludes further examination of this possibility.

⁶⁹ Note the apparent use of honorific transposition (i.e. the name of the king is placed at the beginning of the phrase). This does not occur in any of the other titles in this tomb and so it seems strange that it would do so here. However, it has not been possible to find a photograph of the original text and so Helck's copying of the text cannot be confirmed (although he does add 'sic!' underneath the section, which suggests that he has also noticed the unusual nature of the phrase) and so it must be accepted that either deliberately, perhaps due to aesthetics, or by accident, the scribe has written this phrase with the words in this order.

T07T43

Name: Djehutymes (owner of TT248)

Date: (Thutmose III) – Amenhotep II

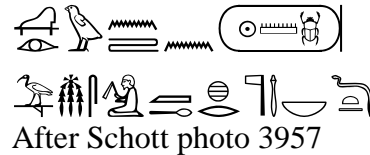
Title: Offerer of Thutmose III⁷⁰

1. Tomb inscription (TT248)

Transliteration:

1) *wsir wdn n Mn-hpr-R^c*

2) *Dḥwty-ms m3^c-ḥrw ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb dt*



Translation:

- 1) The Osiris, offerer of Menkheper (Thutmose III),
- 2) Djehutymes, true of voice, under the great god, lord of eternity.

References:

Haring 1997: 435

Schott photo 3957

Urk. IV: 1642[5, 11]

⁷⁰ The titles of Djehutymes suggest that this individual may have been associated with Karnak on the East Bank rather than with the West Bank temples of Thutmose III (Haring 1997: 428). It is, therefore, uncertain if this title should be treated as relating to a memorial cult.

T07T44

Name: Khaemnetjer

Date: (Thutmose III) – Amenhotep II

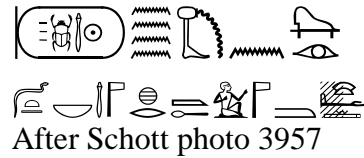
Title: *wꜥb* of Amenhotep II

1. Tomb inscription (TT248)

Transliteration:

1) *wsir {n} wꜥb n ꜥ3-ḥprw-Rꜥ*

2) *Ḥꜥ-m-nꜥr mꜥꜥ-ḥrw ḥr nꜥr ꜥ3 nb ḏt*



Translation:

- 1) The Osiris, *wꜥb* of Aakheperura (Amenhotep II),
- 2) Khaemnetjer, true of voice, under the great god,
lord of eternity.

References:

Haring 1997: 436

Schott photo 3957

Urk. IV: 1642[6]

T07T45-T07T47

Name: Ra (owner of TT72)

Date: Amenhotep II

Title: First *ḥm-ntr* of Amun in Henkhet-ankh; First *ḥm-ntr* of Hathor in Henkhet-ankh; First *ḥm-ntr* of Thutmose III in Henkhet-ankh

1. Tomb inscription (TT72)

Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥm-ntr tpy n [Imn] n Mn-ḥpr-R^c*
- 2) *m Ḥnkt-^cnh R^c*

Translation:

- 1) First *ḥm-ntr* of [Amun] <and> of Menkheperra (Thutmose III)
- 2) in Henkhet-ankh, Ra.

References:

Haring 1997: 433

Urk. IV: 1457[16]



After Urk. IV: 1457[16]

3. Tomb inscription (TT72)

Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥm-ntr tpy n Ḥwt-Ḥr*
- 2) *ḥry-ib{t} Ḥnkt-^cnh R^c*

Translation:

- 1) First *ḥm-ntr* of Hathor
- 2) in (lit. in the midst of) Henkhet-ankh, Ra.

References:

Haring 1997: 433

Urk. IV: 1459[6]



After Urk. IV: 1459[6]

4. Tomb inscription (TT72)

Transliteration:

1) *ḥm-ntr tpy n 'Imn m Ḥnkt-ꜥnh*

2) *Rꜥ*

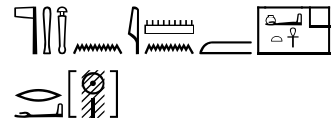
Translation:

1) First *ḥm-ntr* of Amun in Henkhet-Ankh,

2) Ra

References:

Urk. IV: 1459[11]



After Urk. IV: 1459[11]

5. Tomb inscription (TT72)

Transliteration:

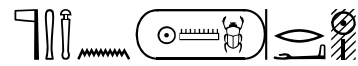
ḥm ntr tpy n Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ Rꜥ

Translation:

First *ḥm-ntr* of Menkheperra, Ra

References:

Urk. IV: 1459[12]



After Urk. IV: 1459[12]

T07T48

Name: Kaemamun

Date: Amenhotep II

Title: Second *ḥm-ntr* of Thutmose III⁷¹

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥmt.f šm^cyt Mryt-R^c(?)*
- 2) *ḥm-ntr snnw n Mn-ḥpr-R^c*
- 3) *K3-m-Imn⁷²*

Translation:

- 1) His wife, the chantress Merytra(?),
- 2) second *ḥm-ntr* of Menkheperra (Thutmose III),
- 3) Kaemamun

References:

Haring 1997: 434



Davies and Macadam
1957: 228

⁷¹ Haring (1997: 434) notes that this title is also found on a statue (see de Buck (1958: 6 [figs. 1a, c, e]) although it should be noted that the title found in fig. 1c varies slightly, in that it reads *ḥm-ntr n Imn m Ḥnkt-^cnh*).

⁷² It is possible that the columns should be read in a different order, beginning with the central one and putting the name and titles of his wife towards the end (as seen, for example, in T08T51 when the owner and his daughter are listed). This does not, however, alter the meaning and so the transcription will be left as reading from left to right.

T07T49

Name: Seked⁷³

Date: Amenhotep II⁷⁴

Title: Second *ḥm-ntr* of Thutmose III

1. Funerary cone⁷⁵

Transliteration:

- 1) *ḥtmty-bity ḥm-ntr IIIInw n Imn*
- 2) *K3-m-Imn m3^c-ḥrw*
- 3) *s3.f ḥm-ntr snnw n Mn-ḥpr-R^c*
- 4) *Sḳd*



Davies and Macadam
1957: 590

Translation:

- 1) Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, fourth *ḥm-ntr* of Amun,
- 2) Kaemamun,⁷⁶ true of voice,
- 3) his son the second *ḥm-ntr* of Menkheperra (Thutmose III),
- 4) Seked.

References:

Haring 1997: 434

⁷³ Dibley et al. (2009: 179) read this name as 'Seqed' ('*Sḳd*'), while Zenihiro (2009: 222) calls him 'Eskedenu' ('*S-ḳdnw*'). It is likely that the *nw* sign is, in fact, a part of the verb *ḳd* (to form) and so this study will follow the version used by Dibley et al..

⁷⁴ Manniche (1988a: 163) suggests that the owner is the son of Henuttawy, who was a royal nurse in the reign of Amenhotep II. Werbrouck (1958) suggests that it dates from the reign of Amenhotep II (or at the latest that of Thutmose IV).

⁷⁵ Note the unusual square shape of the cone.

⁷⁶ This is the same Kaemamun as referred to above, in T07T48 (see de Buck 1958: in particular figs. 1, 2), Haring (1997: 434), Zenihiro (2009: 222)).

T08T50

Name: Mutneferet

Date: Amenhotep II – Thutmose IV

Title: Chantress of Thutmose I

1. Tomb inscription (TT98)

Transliteration:

*šmꜥyt n ꜥ3-hpr-k3-Rꜥ Mwt*⁷⁷



After Fakhry 1934: 85

Translation:

Chantress of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Mut.

References:

Fakhry 1934: 85

Haring 1997: 429

⁷⁷ Fakhry (1934: 85) transcribes the name as ‘*Mwt*’ but notes that, based on other occurrences of the name of this individual, it should be read ‘*Mwt-nfrt*’.

T08T51

Name: Neferhebef

Date: Thutmose IV

Title: *ḥm-ntr* of Amenhotep II

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *im³hy hr*
- 2) *Wsir ḥm-ntr n ʿ3-ḥprw-Rʿ di ʿnh*
- 3) *Nfr-ḥb-f m3ʿ-ḥrw snt.f nbt pr*
- 4) *T3-w3y*

Translation:

- 1) Honoured by
- 2) Osiris, *ḥm-ntr* of Aakheperura (Amenhotep II)
given life,
- 3) Neferhebef true of voice, his daughter, lady of the
house
- 4) Taway

References:

Haring 1997: 436



Davies and Macadam
1957: 54

T08T52

Name: Piay⁷⁸

Date: Thutmose IV

Title: First *ḥm-ntr* of Thutmose IV

1. Tomb inscription (TT C6)

Transliteration:

1) *ḥm-ntr tpy n Mn-ḥprw-R^c*

2) *Pyzy*

Translation:

1) First *ḥm-ntr* of Menkheperura (Thutmose IV),

2) Piay

References:

Haring 1997: 437

PM I.I: 459

Urk. IV: 1633[4]



After Urk. IV: 1644[4]

⁷⁸ The son of Ipy (T08T53).

T08T53

Name: Ipy (owner of TT C6)

Date: Thutmose IV

Title: Overseer of the boats of Amun/Thutmose IV in the temple of Amun/Thutmose IV⁷⁹

1. Tomb inscription (TT C6)

Transliteration:

A) *imy-r ḥꜥw n 'Imn n [t]3 ḥwt nb-t3wy Mn-ḥprw-Rꜥ di ḥnh 'Ipy*

B) *wsir imy-r ḥꜥw n t3 ḥwt Mn-ḥprw-Rꜥ 'Imn 'Ipy*

C) *imy-r ḥꜥw m ḥwt 'Imn 'Ipy*⁸⁰

D) *imy-r ḥꜥw Mn-ḥprw-Rꜥ m ḥwt 'Imn 'Ipy*

Translation:

A) Overseer of the boats of Amun in the temple of the Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperura (Thutmose IV) given life, Ipy

B) The Osiris, overseer of the boats of the temple of Menkheperura <and> Amun, Ipy

C) Overseer of the boats in the temple of Amun, Ipy

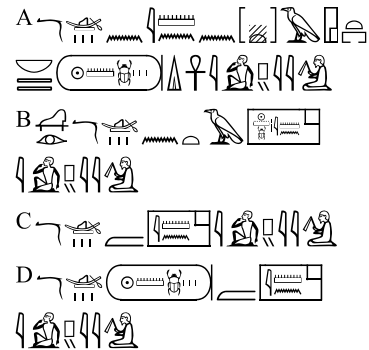
D) Overseer of the boats of Menkheperura in the temple of Amun, Ipy

References:

Haring 1997: 437

PM I.I: 458

Urk. IV: 1632[13-17]



After Urk. IV: 1632[13-17]

⁷⁹ See Helck (1961: 10) for discussion of the variety of ways in which the temple was referenced.

⁸⁰ This title does not explicitly refer to a memorial cult, although it may well refer to the same position as the other three titles.

T09T54

Name: (Unknown)

Date: Amenhotep III

Title: Steward of Thutmose III

1. Tomb inscription (TT226)

Transliteration:

*imy-r pr n ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ T[m]n*⁸¹

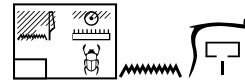
Translation:

Steward of the temple of Menkheperra (Thutmose III)

<and> A[mu]n

References:

Nina Davies and Davies 1933: pl. xliv



After Nina Davies and
Davies 1933: pl. xliv

⁸¹ The text probably reads '*ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ Tmn*' ('the temple of Menkheperra and Amun'). Another option is that the text at the top of the left-hand column reads '*ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ m pr Tmn*' (see Haring (1997: 27)) but this is less likely based on the positioning of the cartouche on the right, which leaves little space for more signs above the name of Amun to the left.

T09T56

Name: Inhermes

Date: Amenhotep III

Title: Scribe of work in the temple of Amenhotep III on the west of Thebes

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *im3hy hr Wsir*
- 2) *sš n t3 k3t n t3*
- 3) *hwt Nb-M3^ct-R^c hr imntt W3st In-hr*
- 4) *-ms m3^c-hrw hr ntr-^c3*

Translation:

- 1) Honoured by Osiris,
- 2) scribe of the work of the
- 3) temple of Nebmaatira (Amenhotep III) on the west of Thebes, Inher-
- 4) mes true of voice under the great god

References:

- Haring 1997: 438
Roeder 1924: 299, nos. 8744, 9662-9663
Stewart 1986: 44



Davies and Macadam
1957: 430

T09T57

Name: Meryptah

Date: Amenhotep III

Title: *sm* in the temple of Amenhotep III

1. Tomb inscription (TT55)

Transliteration:

1) *sm m t3 [hwt Nb-M3^ct-R^c]*⁸⁴

2) [*imy-r pr Mry-Pth m3^c-hrw*]

Translation:

1) *sm* in the [temple of Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III)],

2) [steward, Meryptah true of voice]

References:

Haring 1997: 439

Urk. IV: 1787[5, 6]



After Urk. IV: 1787 [5, 6]

⁸⁴ The reconstruction of *Nb-M3^ct-R^c* is uncertain; Haring (1997: 439) notes that the basis for it is unknown and it is not adhered to by Davies (1941: 44, pls. xl, xli), who instead references a female Meryptah and a unnamed *sm*. The date of the tomb, however, supports the possibility that the temple is that of Amenhotep III (see T09T56, T09T57).

T11T58

Name: Bathay⁸⁵

Date: Smenkharā

Title: Scribe of works in the temple of Smenkharā

1. Graffito (TT139)

Transliteration:

32) *sš n ḳd B3-ṯ3y*⁸⁶ [*m*]

33) *ḥwt ʿnh-ḥprw-R*⁸⁷ [...]

Translation:

32) Scribe of works, Bathay [in]

33) the temple of Ankhkheperura (Smenkhara) [...]

References:

Gardiner 1928: 11, pl. vi[32-33]

Haring 1997: 441



After Gardiner 1928: pl.
vi[32-33]

⁸⁵ The brother of Pawah (see T11T59-T11T60).

⁸⁶ The reconstruction of this lacuna is based on that given in Gardiner (1928: pl. vi).

⁸⁷ The gap at the end of the cartouche causes some uncertainty as to its reading. Gardiner (1928: 10) notes the possibility of reading the signs within the cartouche as ‘*ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R*’ (‘Thutmose I’) but concludes that they do, in fact, relate to the far less documented successor of Akhenaten. The name of Amenhotep II (‘*ʿ3-ḥprw-R*’) is also possible, but this study will accept the conclusions of Gardiner, which are supported by Haring (1997: 441).

T11T59-T11T60

Name: Pawah⁸⁸

Date: Smenkhara

Titles: *wꜥb* in the temple of Smenkhara in Thebes; Scribe
of the divine offerings of Amun in the temple of
Smenkhara in Thebes

1. Graffito (TT139)

Transliteration:

4) *wꜥb sš ḥtpw-ntr n Imn m ḥwt ꜥnh-ḥprw-R*⁸⁹

5) *m W3st P3-w3ḥ*

Translation:

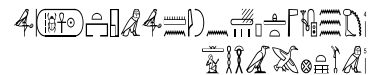
4) *wꜥb*⁹⁰ and scribe of the divine offerings in the
temple of Ankhkheperura (Smenkhara)

5) in Thebes, Pawah

References:

Gardiner 1928: 10, pl. v[14-15]

Haring 1997: 441



After Gardiner 1928: pl.
v[4-5]

⁸⁸ The brother of Bathay (see T11T58).

⁸⁹ It is possible that the cartouche reads 'ꜥ3-ḥprw-R' ('Amenhotep II') but, based on the reading of the cartouche in T11T58 as 'ꜥnh-ḥprw-R', it is probable that this one is read in the same way.

⁹⁰ Again, it is uncertain if this title relates to the memorial cult of the king. But, as discussed above, it will be assumed that both titles listed are related to the same temple (see T05T05-T05T14).

T14T61-62

Name: Sobekmes (owner of TT275)

Date: After Amarna (Tutankhamun – Horemheb)

Titles: *wꜥb* in the temple of Amenhotep III; Head *it-ntr* in the temple of Amenhotep III⁹¹

1. Tomb inscription (TT275)

Transliteration:

wꜥb ḥry it-ntr m ḥwt Nb-Mꜥ3t-Rꜥ

Translation:

wꜥb and head *it-ntr* in the temple of Nebmaatra
(Amenhotep III)

References:

Engelbach and Gardiner 1924: 20

Haring 1997: 440

Varille 1904: 11



After Varille 1904: 11

2. Tomb inscription

Transliteration:

I[t]-ntr n ḥwt Nb-Mꜥ3t-Rꜥ

Translation:

I[t]-ntr of the temple of Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III)

References:

Haring 1997: 440

Varille 1904: 11



After Varille 1904: 11

⁹¹ Of the two examples stated here, one includes the specification that Sobekmes is the ‘head’ *it-ntr* while the other does not. However, as they are both included in his tomb it is to be assumed that they refer to the same title (although it is possible that they show a career progression).

T14T63-T14T64

Name: Amenemheb (owner of TT A8)

Date: Aye – Horemheb

Title: Steward of the temple of Amenhotep I;⁹² *wꜥb* on the west side of Amun of the son of Ra, Amenhotep I

1. Funerary cone

Transliteration:

- 1) *wsir sš nswt m3ꜥ mr.f imy-r pr*
- 2) *m ḥwt 'Imn-ḥtp ḥ3ty-ꜥ 'Imn-m-ḥb n W3st*
- 3) *ms.n wsir K3nwr m3ꜥ-ḥrw*

Translation:

- 1) The Osiris, true royal scribe, his beloved, steward
- 2) in the temple of Amenhotep (I), mayor Amenemheb of Thebes,
- 3) born of the Osiris Kanur, true of voice

References:

Haring 1997: 427



Davies and Macadam
1957: 532

⁹² This title is also referred to in other contexts, such as on a statue of Amenemheb (Lieblein 1873: 3).

2. Funerary cone⁹³

Transliteration:

- 1) *w^cb imy-wrt n 'Imn*
- 2) *s3-R^c Dsr-k3-R^c di 'nh*
- 3) *'Imn-m-ḥb*

Translation:

- 1) *w^cb* on the west side of Amun,
- 2) <of the> son of Ra, Djeserkara (Amenhotep I) given
life,
- 3) Amenemheb

References:

See introduction to this appendix



Davies and Macadam
1957: 204

⁹³ There is some doubt as to the identification of this funerary cone with TT A8; several scholars have concluded that it is likely to have belonged to the owner of TT A8 based on the shared name and the depiction of Amenhotep I on the walls of TT A8 (see Kampp (1996: 616), Manniche (1988a: 11), Vivó (2002: 11)). The owner of TT A8 is known to have held titles relating to the memorial cult of Amenhotep I (see funerary cone above, no. 532) which may be used to support this argument. Zenihiro (2009: 109-110), however, suggests that the cone should not be identified with this individual as it has a different type of sealing to others which have been definitely identified with TT A8, and the titles on it do not fully correlate with the other examples. This study will accept the majority findings based on the fact that the owner of TT A8 is known to have held titles relating to the memorial cult of Amenhotep I, although with caution.

T14M65

Name: Amenmonet

Date: Horemheb

Title: Steward of the temple of Thutmose III

1. Tomb inscription⁹⁴

Transliteration:

1) *imy-r pr m ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-R^c*

2) *Imn-m-int*

Translation:

1) Steward in the temple of Menkheperra (Thutmose III),

2) Amenemonet

References:

Haring 1997: 432

Martin 1987: 7-8, pls. 1[1b], 2[2]

Mogensen 1930: 100-101, pl. cviii [A.731-A.732]

Ranke 1931: 78



After Martin 1987: pl.
I[1b]⁹⁵

⁹⁴ It is likely that the relief comes from the tomb of Amenmonet and, due to the tomb's location near Memphis, it is possible that the title does not refer to the memorial cult of Thutmose III at Thebes (Haring 1997: 432). However, the use of the term *ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-R^c* suggests that it refers to the king's memorial cult, of which the main incarnation was at Thebes.

⁹⁵ The same title is given in a second scene (Martin 1987: pl I[2]). As the titles in the two scenes are identical and would, no doubt, have been included in other scenes in the tomb, only one example has been given in this appendix.

T14T66

Name: Maya

Date: Horemheb

Title: Overseer of works of the place of eternity

1. Graffito, KV43

Transliteration:

*imy-r k3wt m st nhḥ*⁹⁶

Translation:

Overseer of works in the place of eternity

References:

Carter and Newberry 1904: fig. 7

See also:

G14T23



After Carter and Newberry

1904: fig. 7

⁹⁶ The graffito does not specify which monument Maya is the overseer of works at, although it may be the temple of Horemheb which would have been under construction at the time. However, it should be noted that the graffito is found in the tomb of Thutmose IV and was left to record work there after a robbery, and so it is possible that Maya was involved in the memorial estate of that king (possibly he worked in several royal estates in his capacity of 'overseer of works' during his life).

T14T67

Name: Djehuty

Date: Horemheb – Seti I

Title: First *ḥm-ntr* of the Lord of the Two Lands Ahmose-Nefertari

1. Tomb inscription

Transliteration:

ḥm-ntr tpy nb t3wy⁹⁷ 3ḥms-nfrt-iry Dḥwty



After Urk. IV: 2174[19]

Translation:

First *ḥm-ntr* <of> the Lord (sic.) of the Two Lands,
Ahmose-Nefertari, Djehuty

References:

Baud and Drioton 1932: 47

Urk. IV: 2174[19]

⁹⁷ As noted in Urk. IV (2174[19]), the text gives Ahmose-Nefertari the epithet *nb t3wy* in the masculine form.

T00T68-T00T69

Name: Nebwaw

Date: Late Eighteenth Dynasty⁹⁸

Titles: *wꜥb* of the temple of Thutmose I; Scribe of the temple of Thutmose I

1. Graffito (TT504)

Transliteration:

1) *wꜥb sš ḥwt n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ Nb-wꜥw ...*

7) *... sš n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ ḥr imnty Nb-wꜥw*

Translation:

1) the *wꜥb* and scribe <of> the temple of Aakheperkara (Thutmose I), Nebwaw ...

7) ...the scribe of Aakheperkara, on the West, Nebwaw

References:

Marciniak 1981: pl. xxxiv

Phillips 1986

See also:

G00T25



After Marciniak 1981: pl.
xxxiv[1]



After Marciniak 1981: pl.
xxxiv[7]

⁹⁸ Marciniak (1981: 288) dates this text to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Phillips (1986: 82[25]), however, analysis various signs within the inscription and concludes that it, in fact, dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. This text has been included in the corpus based on Phillips' suggested dating, but it is possible that it does, in fact, fall outside of the remit of this study (see also app. 1, G00T25).

**APPENDIX 13. ROYAL CULTS INCLUDED IN PERSONAL TITLES BY THE DATE
THAT THE TITLE WAS RECORDED**

Royal Cult Date	Ahmose	Amenhotep I	Ahmose-Nefertari	Iset	Thutmose I	Thutmose II	Thutmose III	Hatshepsut	Amenhotep II	Thutmose IV	Amenhotep III	Smenkhara	Total
Thutmose I					1								1
Thutmose II													
Thutmose III	2	2			4	2	6	1					17
Hatshepsut		2			6	2	2						12
Amenhotep II		1	2	1	2		10	2	1				19
Thutmose IV					1				1	2			4
Amenhotep III							1				3		4
Smenkhara											2	3	5
Horemheb		2	1				1						4
‘Late 18 th Dynasty’					2								2
Total	2	7	3	1	16	4	20	3	2	2	5	3	

**APPENDIX 14. MEMORIAL TEMPLES NAMED IN PERSONAL TITLES BY THE
DATE THAT THE TITLE WAS RECORDED**

<div> <div>Temple</div> <div>Date</div> </div>	<i>ḥwt Imn-ḥtp</i>	<i>Mn-i-sw-t</i>	<i>ḥwt ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-Rʕ</i>	<i>Ḥnmt-ʕnḥ</i>	<i>ḥwt Mn-ḥpr-Rʕ</i>	<i>Ḥnkt-ʕnḥ</i>	<i>Ḍsr-ḏsrw</i>	<i>ḥwt Mn-ḥprw-Rʕ</i>	<i>ḥwt Nb-mʕt-Rʕ</i>	<i>ḥwt ʕnḥ-ḥprw-Rʕ</i>
Thutmose III						3				
Hatshepsut				1		1				
Amenhotep II		1		1		6	2			
Thutmose IV								1		
Amenhotep III					1				3	
Smenkhara										3
Horemheb	1				1				2	
‘Late 18 th Dynasty’			2							
Total	1	1	2	2	2	10	2	1	5	3

APPENDIX 15. PERSONAL TITLES NOT INCLUDED IN THE CATALOGUE

1.

Name: Pehsewher (owner of TT88)

Date: (Thutmose III) – Amenhotep II

Title: *wꜥb* of Amun in Henkhet-ankh(?)

References:

Haring 1997: 232

Helck 1961: 96

Reason for not including title in catalogue:

Although mentioned in Helck and Haring, it has not been possible to find original sources, or a copy of the text which confirms this title.

2.

Name: Amenemheb

Date: After Thutmose III¹

Title: Steward in Hekhet-ankh²

Pyramideon inscription

Translation:

imy-r pr m Ḥnkt-ꜥnh

Steward in Henkhet-ankh

References:

Alliot 1932: fig. 11[13]

¹ The inclusion of a title relating to the memorial cult of Thutmose III places this pyramidion during or after his reign. Alliot (1932: 73, 81) notes the Eighteenth Dynasty style of the pyramidion, dating it to within the reigns of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III. It is quite possible that it dates from the reign of Thutmose III himself, although later dates cannot be excluded.

² Haring (1997: 432) writes that the same title is also found on a statue found at Karnak, although it should be noted that the title in this instance is written *imy-r pr n Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ*, thus emphasising the name of the king rather than the name of his temple (Legrain 1906: 68-69, pl. lxx).

Haring 1997: 432

Reason for not including title in catalogue:

Although a clear example of a title, the scope of this study is graffiti, internal tomb decoration and funerary cones. It has not been possible to expand this to include pyramidia.

3.

Name: Roy (owner of TT255)

Date: Horemheb – Seti I

Title: Steward in the temple of Horemheb

Tomb inscription

Translation:

imy-r pr m pr Hr-m-ḥb

Steward in the house of Horemheb

References:

Baud and Drioton 1932: 34

Reason for not including title in catalogue:

The title uses the term *pr*; Haring (1997: 26-29) discusses the use of the term *pr* and concludes that this relates, not to memorial temples, but to other royal establishments.

APPENDIX 16. DETAILS OF EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE FORGETTING OF ROYAL ANCESTORS

The evidence included in this appendix is only that which is not found in other appendices. Those pieces of evidence that are found in other appendices will be referred to in the study by the reference numbers given there. The dates used to create the reference numbers in this catalogue refer to the date that the piece of evidence was created, rather than the date of its erasure as this is often difficult to be certain of.¹

F06T01

Cartouche of Thutmose I, thought originally to have been a cartouche of Hatshepsut, before being altered after her death.

Tomb: TT345

Owner: Amenhotep

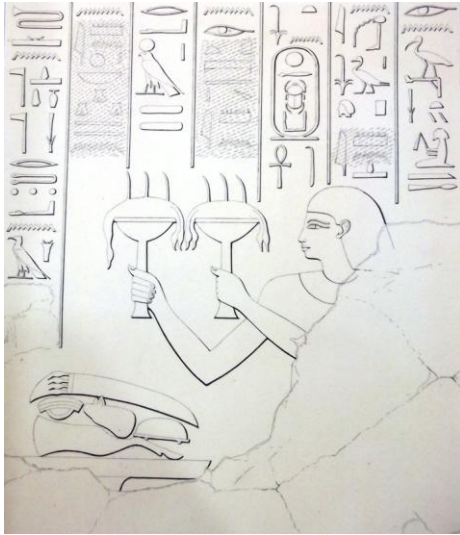
Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Thutmose I – Hatshepsut²

Date of erasure: Thutmose III (post-Hatshepsut)

¹ Furthermore, the pieces of evidence in other appendices which relate to forgetting are dated according to their creation, and so this brings these new pieces of evidence into line with this.

² See app. 12 (T06T19-T06T21) for discussion of the date of this tomb. If the assumption that the cartouche recorded here originally contained the name of Hatshepsut is accepted then, presumably, a large part of the tomb was decorated in her reign even if some of the construction took place earlier.



(LD iii: 9[c])

Texts:

Columns (left to right):

1) *dbn n ḥtp(w)-ntr t ḥnḳt sntr ʿntyw*
[...]

2) *n [ʿImn-Rʿ nb nswt t3wy n]*

3) *Rʿ-Ḥr-3ḥty*

4) *n ir [pt t3 ʿImn]*

5) *nsw ʿ3-ḥpr-kʿ-Rʿ ʿnh.ti*

6) *in wʿb s3 nsw tpy ʿImn-ḥtp*

1) Bringer of divine offerings of bread,
beer, incense, myrrh [...]

2) for [Amun-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of
the Two Lands for],

3) Ra-Horakhty,

4) who makes [the sky and the land,
Amun,]

5) <for> the king, Aakheperkara
(Thutmose I),³ may he live.

6) By the *wʿb*, first king's son,
Amenhotep,

7) born of⁴ Djehutysenty, true of voice.

³ See Whale (1989: 87 and endnote) for discussion of the probability that this cartouche was originally that of Hatshepsut.

⁴ Literally 'made of'.

7) *ir n Dḥwty-snty m3^c-ḥrw*

References:

LD iii: 9[c]

Urk. IV: 106

Whale 1989: 87 and endnote

F09T02

A scene of the weighing of the heart takes place in front of two rows of assessors.

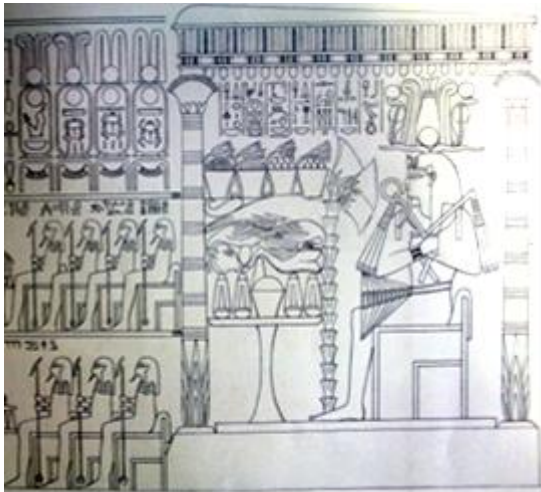
Above the assessors are four cartouches, those of Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep II and Thutmose III.

Tomb: TT78

Owner: Horemheb

Location: Sheik Abd el-Qurna

Date: Amenhotep II – Amenhotep III



(Bouriant 1891: pl. v)

Texts:

Cartouches above assessors (left to right):

1) *Nb-M3^ct-R^c*

2) *Mn-hprw-R^c*

3) *3-hprw-R^c*

4) *Mn-hpr-R^c*

1) Nebmaatra (Amenhotep III)

2) Menkheperura (Thutmose IV)

3) Aakheperura (Amenhotep II)

4) Menkheperra (Thutmose III)

References:

Bouriant 1891: pl. v

L.D. iii: 78[a, b]

MMA photos T. 1972-1974

PM I.I: 155

F14T03

Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) sits, with Nefertiti also seated behind him, in a kiosk. In a panel below, the tomb owner kneels in front of the kiosk.

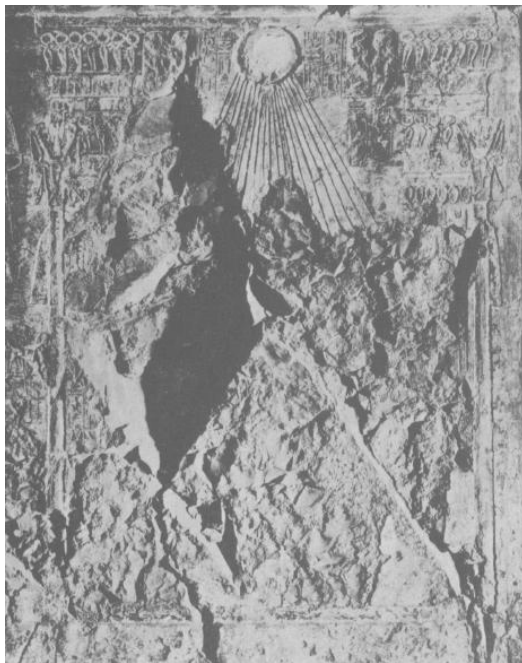
Tomb: TT188

Owner: Parannefer

Location: el-Khokha

Date: Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)

Date of erasure: Horemheb



(Davies 1923b: pl. xxiv[1])⁵

The texts are not clear in the photograph, but a reconstruction by Asunta Redford (2006: pl. 31) allows for some to be seen.

⁵ This is one example from the tomb, TT188. More examples can be found in Davies (1923b) and Asunta Redford (2006).

To left of the Aten (repeated right):

1) *ʾItn ʕnh wr imy n*

1) Great, living Aten, who is at

2) *ḥb nb pt t3 šḥd t3wy*

2) the festival, lord of heaven and earth,
who illuminates the two lands

King's cartouche (to the right of the
sun's rays):

1) *Nb [ḥʕw] Imn-ḥtp ḥk3 ntr W3st*

1) Lord [of appearances]. Amenhotep
(IV), divine ruler of Thebes

Columns to the left of the kiosk:

1) *ḏd [...] n wb3 nsw [...] it ntr [...]*

1) Said [...] to the king's butler [...] divine father [...]

2) *[...] i3bt [...] hr [...]*

2) [...] east [...] under [...] ⁶

Columns to the right of the kiosk:

1) *ḥmt [wrt] nsw [...]ti [...]*

1) [Great] royal wife [... Neferti]ti [...]

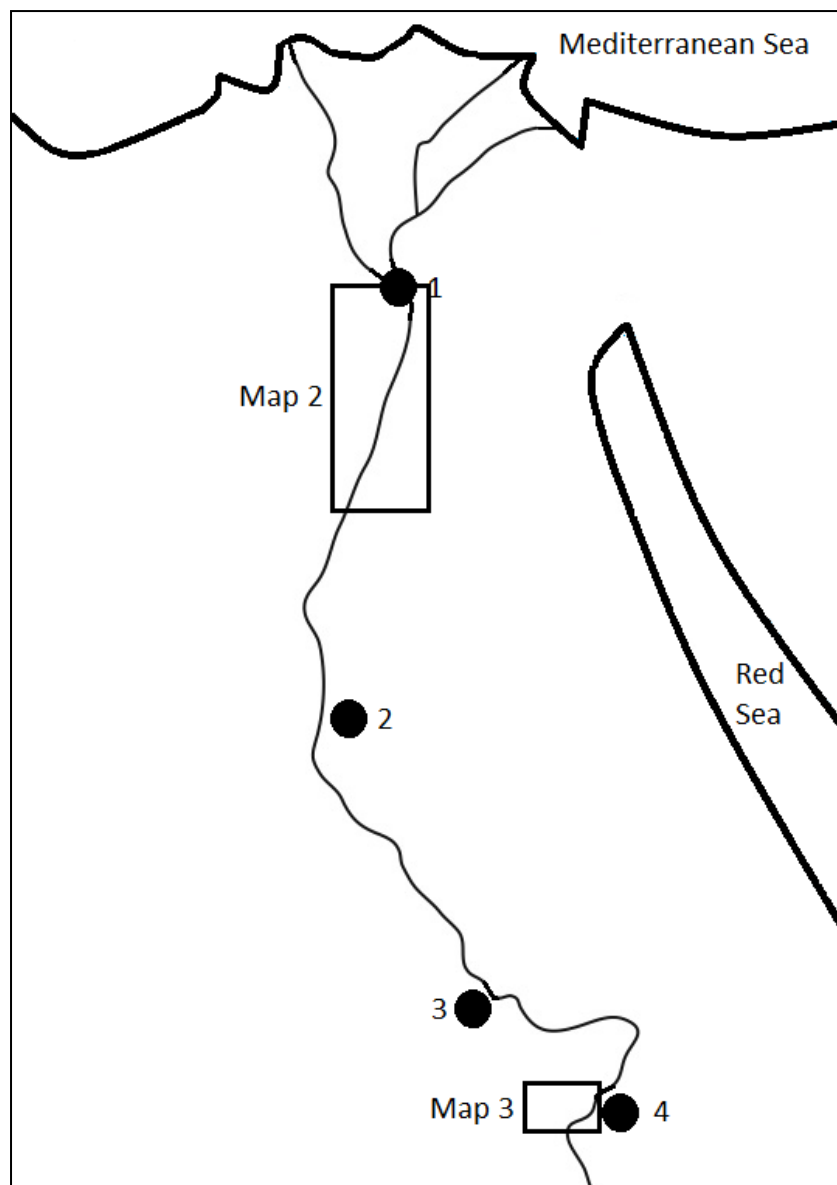
References:

Davies 1923b: pl. xxiv[1]

A. Redford 2006: 43-45 pls. 30-33

⁶ A. Redford (2006: 44) reconstructs this text as 'Spoken [by the king] to the king's butler, [pure of hands, Parennefer. My] divine father, [Hor-Aten], has placed for me [North, South,] West and East and [all] foreign lands under my two sandals'.

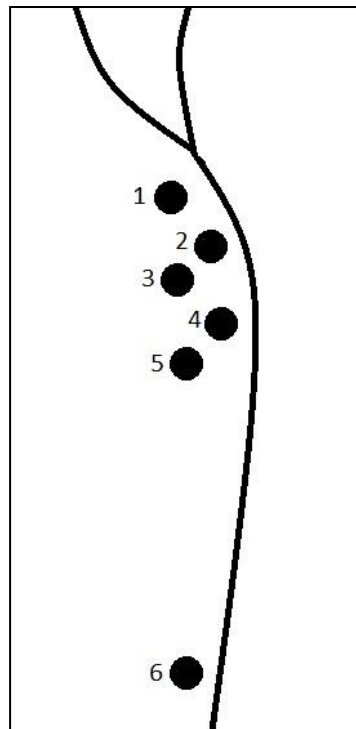
MAP 1. KEY LOCATIONS IN EGYPT



Key:

- 1. Memphis (modern Cairo)
- 2. Amarna
- 3. Abydos
- 4. Thebes (modern Luxor)

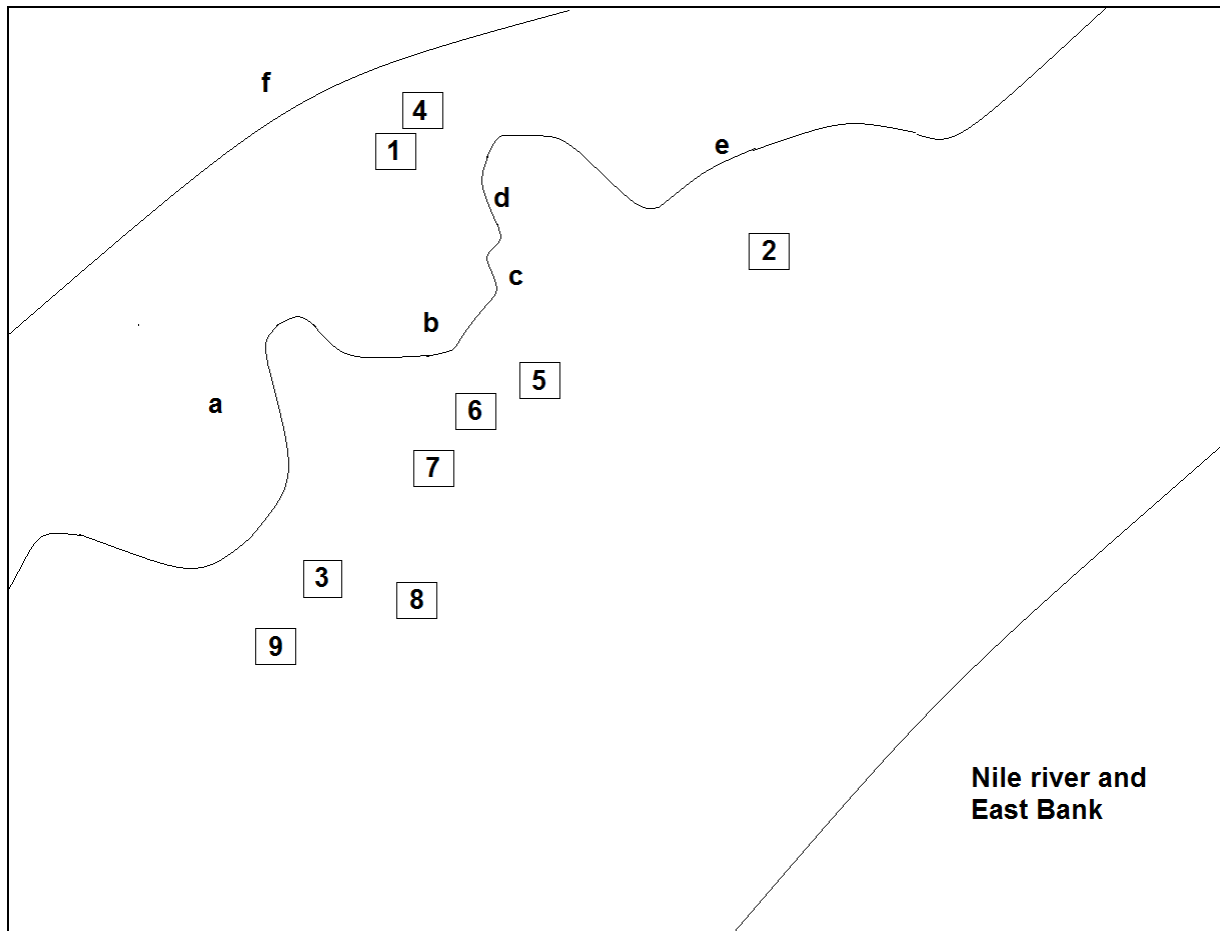
MAP 2. SITES IN THE MEMPHITE REGION



Key:

- 1. Giza
- 2. Abusir
- 3. Saqqara
- 4. Memphis
- 5. Dahshur
- 6. Meidum

MAP 3. THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES AND TOMB SITES

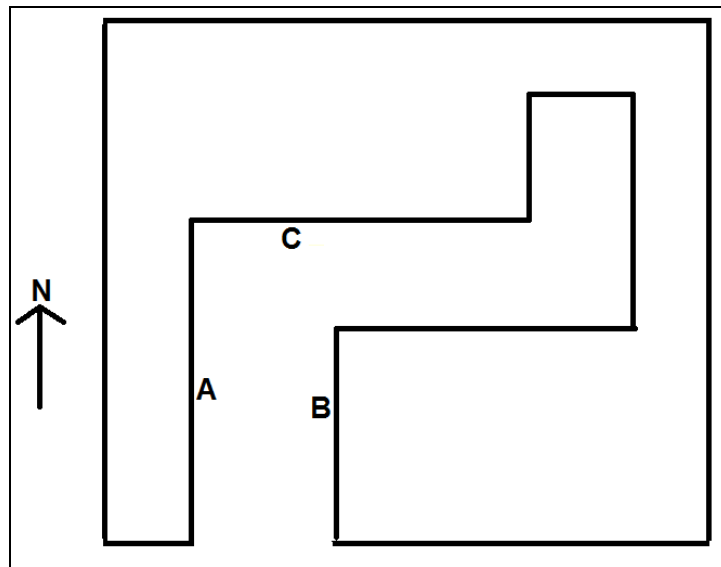


Key:

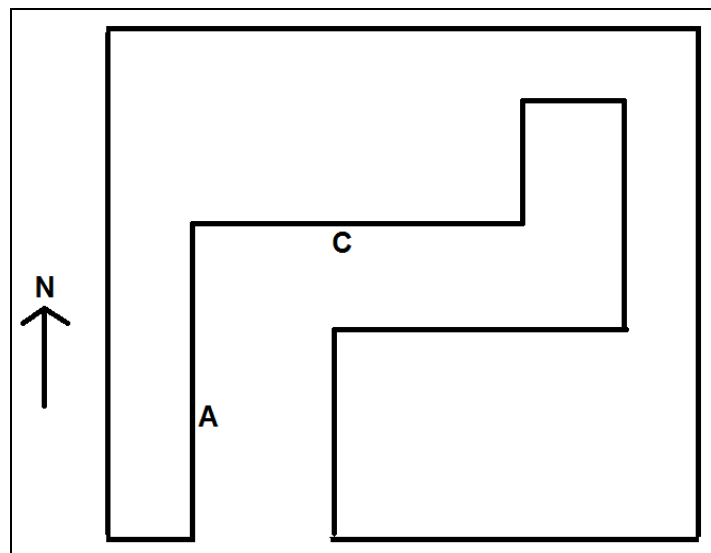
1. Temple of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep
2. Temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari
3. Temple of Thutmose II (*Hnmt-ḥnh*)
4. Temple of Hatshepsut (*Dsr-Dsrw*)
5. Temple of Thutmose III (*Hnkt-ḥnh*)
6. Temple of Amenhotep II
7. Temple of Thutmose IV
8. Temple of Amenhotep III
9. Temple of Aye and Horemheb

- a. Deir el-Medina
- b. Sheik Abd el-Qurna
- c. el-Khokha
- d. el-Asasif
- e. Dra Abu el-Naga
- f. Valley of the Kings

PLAN 1. CHAPELS OF DJOSER AT SAQQARA

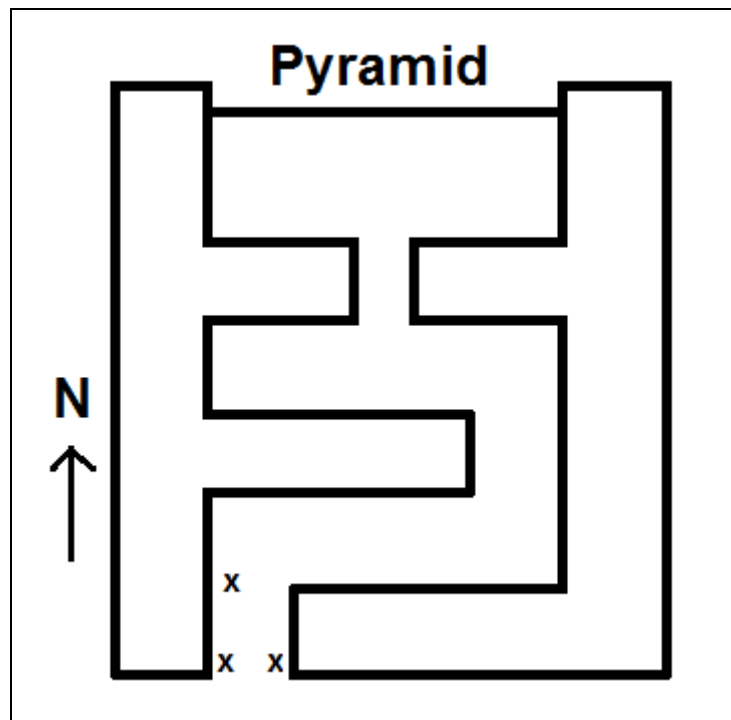


Plan 1a. North Chapel of Djoser



Plan 1b. South Chapel of Djoser

PLAN 2. MEMORIAL TEMPLE OF SNEFERU AT MEIDUM



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